

Korea in the U. N.—*J. A. del Vayo*

# THE *Nation*

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October 7, 1950

## Outlook for November

### *I. Excitement in Connecticut*

BY ROBERT BENDINER

✱

## Forgive Them Their Trespasses

### *Fourth Reich—Made in U. S. A.*

BY CAROLUS

### *Separate Peace for Japan?*

BY FRED W. RIGGS

✱

## Union Survival in a Permanent Crisis

BY AARON LEVENSTEIN

OCT 6 1950

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# THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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NUMBER 15

## *The Shape of Things*

THE SUDDEN COLLAPSE OF NORTH KOREAN resistance in the south after the capture of Seoul and the brilliant flanking operation carried through by the United Nations forces has not ended the Korean struggle. Instead, the sensation of victory, solemnized by General MacArthur's ceremonial reinstatement of President Syngman Rhee in his ruined capital, was quickly succeeded by uneasiness and doubt. MacArthur's ultimatum to the North, calling for surrender to avoid total defeat and destruction, has had no answer as these lines are written. And even before it was issued, as if to mock its tone of moderation, South Korean forces crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel and U. N. planes continued to bombard North Korean towns, communications, and retreating troops. Mystery surrounded the crossing of the Parallel. Just after the fall of Seoul the South Korean Third Division was reported to be halted at the border under orders to remain there unless commanded to advance by the United Nations. Next day it was fighting in North Korean territory. Who sent it over? By the time this comment appears, the answer may be known. Perhaps, as most of the dispatches said, it was authorized to cross by General Walton H. Walker, commander of the United States Eighth Army. A dispatch in the *New York Herald Tribune* from Ansel E. Talbert in Tokyo gave a different story. The South Koreans, he said, waited at the border neither for orders nor for regrouping but continued straight across the line and began to shell North Korean positions. Mr. Talbert referred to the report that the advance was ordered by the commander of the Eighth Army, but quoted General Edward M. Almond, American Tenth Corps commander, as saying that he had no knowledge of any such order being issued by General Walker. The dispatch concluded: "It would be most exceptional for one field commander planning a move as momentous as the Thirty-eighth Parallel crossing not to send the information to other important commands."

★

THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS QUESTION MAY evaporate in the heat of the broader struggle that seems certain to develop during the next few days. But it may, on the contrary, prove a matter of great significance.

The solemn warning from Foreign Minister Chou En-lai in Peking that China would not "stand aside" if North Korea were invaded revealed the acute danger of a vastly expanded conflict. In the General Assembly, as Mr. del Vayo indicates on another page, general satisfaction over the progress of U. N. arms was tempered by a sober realization that forcible resistance to aggression might quickly and perhaps half accidentally be transformed into a general war against the Asian revolution. It is this possibility, of course, which has led Pandit Nehru and his able representative in the U. N. to work unceasingly for conciliation in Korea. The decision to cross the border, therefore, carried with it the threat of staggering consequences. In our opinion it should not have been left in military hands in the first place; but even if it were, the very suggestion that it may have been made by the officer in charge of a single South Korean division, acting without United Nations authorization, is too horrifying to be left hanging in the air.

★

SOBER ANALYSIS OF THE EIGHTY-FIRST Congress, temporarily in adjournment until after the elections, does not strongly support Mr. Truman's public comment that he was generally satisfied with its work. Contrasted with the Eightieth Congress, the Eighty-first looked reasonably good during the 1949 session. This year it passed a new displaced-persons law and broadened the social-security system, adding these solid achievements to the earlier housing law, higher minimum wages, and improvement of the reciprocal-trade program. It responded energetically to the President's bold use of American power, under the United Nations, against aggression in Korea. But the total record reveals serious gaps: no action on the education and health programs, defeat of the Taft-Hartley repealer, failure to correct a farm program that raises prices to consumers while piling up mountainous surpluses of perishable foods. All civil-rights measures were blocked in the Senate. Only Presidential vetoes prevented enactment of a natural-gas bill to raise prices to consumers and a basing-point bill that would have nullified Supreme Court decisions against price fixing in basic industrial materials. In the end Congress overrode the President to approve an unworkable and tyrannical anti-Communist law. Senator Taft may be correct when he says that with just a few more Democratic Congressmen the President's entire

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Fair Deal program could be passed; they would, however, have to be the right kind of Democrats. The real trouble with the Democratic Party is not that liberals and labor have "captured" it, but that they have not yet succeeded in persuading the party's professional politicians that the Democrats cannot win elections in key states without labor and independent backing, and that sincere performance, not vague pre-election promises, is required to obtain such support.

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KNOWING WELL THAT THE REPUBLICANS will have none of our advice, we offer our opinion that they are making a great mistake in whipping up such a to-do over Jonathan Daniels's book on President Truman. The net effect of all the excitement, it seems to us, is that many people will read "The Man of Independence" who might otherwise forgo it as an "official" biography. And when they do read it, they will not, we think, come away with a sour impression of the President. On the contrary, the book will fortify the prevalent belief that Truman is a warm, rather guileless man, of personal integrity in spite of his Pendergast support, and with a capacity for hard work which he consciously invokes in order to make up for the limited range of knowledge he originally brought to his high office. One violently anti-Truman columnist, for example, gloats over the Daniels revelation that Truman did in fact plunk down ten dollars as an entrance fee for membership in the Klan back in 1924, when that nefarious organization dominated the politics of the Middle West. The reader will hold this against Harry, but he is not likely to be bitter about it when he reads further that the political neophyte immediately snatched back the ten on discovering that he would be committed never to give a Catholic a job; that in the ensuing campaign he was defeated solely on the Klan issue and even had his life threatened. Nor does the issue over James F. Byrnes really bulk large. The big point is that if Truman thought Byrnes had "failed miserably" as Secretary of State, he should have fired him at once instead of waiting nearly a year and then accepting his resignation with praise and regret. But Daniels reports that Truman read his subordinate the "real riot act" after the Moscow conference, in which he thought Byrnes had "lost his nerve." If this meager point is what the Republicans consider a campaign windfall, their rejoicing would seem to us to be characteristically premature.

★

NEW YORK'S LONG BURGEONING POLICE scandal was bound in time to blossom like the stinkweed. Protection for gamblers and other shady operators is perhaps always present in some degree in a large metropolitan police force and has constantly to be

routed out from above. In Mayor LaGuardia's administration that was done. Under O'Dwyer the system was allowed to flourish to an extent that would have been impossible without the active participation of high police officials. Not only did the Mayor take no action when Miles McDonald proceeded to uncover a swamp of corruption, but he did his best to thwart that courageous District Attorney's every effort. His Police Commissioner, William P. O'Brien, refused to cooperate and, when the scandal finally broke, resigned and allowed his highest subordinates to resign when what was called for was suspension. The spectacle of these police chiefs scrambling under the wire in order to get their pensions was the final sordid touch. Acting Mayor Impellitteri's appointment of Thomas F. Murphy, the Hiss prosecutor, was a political coup of sorts. Murphy's independence, intelligence, and ability recommend him highly, and as a civilian he has no coterie of friends to protect in the department. A lifelong Democrat, he is not a clubhouse man and owes the party machine nothing but a slight resentment. It should not be forgotten, however, that as president of the Council, Impellitteri had plenty of opportunity to speak out on the subject of the police but chose not to do so. Similarly, Governor Dewey steps into the picture rather late in the day. In a sudden rush of virtue to the head, everyone is a reformer, at least until November 7.

✱

YUGOSLAVIA'S ECONOMIC TROUBLES HAVE entered the acute stage and may lead to political crisis unless Western help is forthcoming in the near future. The worst drought in memory has reduced the grain harvest to a level that portends famine this winter. Failure of the corn crop is forcing peasants to slaughter their cattle, and the government has found it necessary to reduce compulsory deliveries of grain, since the output of thousands of holdings is less than the quotas originally set. A 10 per cent cut in bread rations has been decreed, and shipments of grain to Western Europe—an important source of foreign exchange—have been sharply curtailed and will probably have to be suspended entirely. This will make purchases of foreign raw materials and machinery, for lack of which Tito's Five-Year Plan is bogging down, still more difficult. No doubt assistance could be obtained from Russia, which is reported to have a large grain surplus, but the price would be liquidation of the regime and complete subservience to the Kremlin. Naturally Tito is looking the other way, but Washington, at least, seems in no hurry to recognize his distress signals. We have surplus wheat which could be made available to Yugoslavia, and it seems probable that the International Bank would provide a much-needed long-term loan for the purchase of mining machinery if it were sure of the Administra-

tion's approval. This would seem to be a mutually advantageous deal, apart from any political benefits which might ensue. Yugoslavia has rich deposits of lead, zinc, bauxite, and copper—all minerals which threaten to become increasingly scarce as Western rearmament gets under way.

✱

SIX MONTHS AGO ARTHUR STRAWN WROTE a movie script for the Monogram Studio based on the exploits of one Hiawatha, the Onondaga Indian chief who was the subject of a rather well-known poem by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. At the last moment Monogram decided to cancel the production because "in the present temper of the country" the story of Hiawatha might be regarded as "Communist propaganda." Even those with only a pleasant grade-school recollection of the poem will find it difficult to connect Hiawatha with the reds, despite the color of his skin. But it seems that Hiawatha's efforts as a peacemaker among the warring Indian tribes of his day, which led to the confederation of the Five Nations, made nervous Monogram officials fear that his glorification might be helpful to present Communist designs. This may explain why nothing much has been heard lately of various widely discussed projects to make a film based on the life of Christ.

✱

London

ONE of the most interesting developments of recent days has been the tendency of non-Labor observers to warn Britain's trade-union leaders not to dismiss the opposition to them as Communist. An extremely cogent warning was addressed by the Manchester *Guardian* to Arthur Deakin, who had the police eject from Transport House a number of members of his union staging a protest against the union's trial of leaders of unofficial strikes. Mr. Deakin's position has been that such movements are "Communist-inspired" and can safely be ignored; he has also called for the suppression of the Communist Party. The *Guardian* insists that there is real unrest in the labor movement and that "one cause is a decline in the confidence felt in those who represent 'the workers' in Parliament and in industrial affairs."

Many of the rulers [it continues] from the Cabinet downward have been living in a world of make-believe in which the cost of living is measured by the price index, the feelings of "the workers" expressed by the General Council of the T. U. C., and the ordinary man considered to have all the say he ought to want in his affairs because there is machinery (soulless word) for his trade-union representative to take part in joint consultation. These can be dangerous illusions. . . . Labor Party discipline, with the ever-present threat of "exclusion" to destroy a career or even to take away a livelihood, is a serious brake on the ventilation of grievances, the expression of genuine bewilderment and doubts, of

which many back-bench M. P.'s must be aware. A trade-union hierarchy, resentful of criticism and unwilling to consider reforms, almost invites anyone who may wish to oppose official policy on any matter to make common cause with the Communists; and the Communists, with a newspaper and many avenues to publicity at their disposal, are ready and eager to join hands.

ALTHOUGH the British government gave in to Conservative and American pressure against exporting machine tools to Russia, the Conservatives can be "flexible" on such subjects when their own economic interests are directly affected. This was made clear in a letter to the *Times* in which Walter Fletcher, Conservative M. P., argued against the proposals to limit Soviet purchases of natural rubber. Many economic-warfare experts believe that rubber is one of Russia's most important raw-material deficiencies, but Mr. Fletcher minimized this contention and also insisted that "the buying of Russia (including its satellites) has been far less than has been widely advertised." Mr. Fletcher and the rubber growers, although they recognize that large-scale American purchases have skyrocketed the price of Malayan rubber, do not forget that it was Soviet purchases in 1948, when American buying was at a minimum, that kept the Malayan rubber market from collapse.

A. R.

## The Ford Foundation

ONE of the by-products of an economic system which makes possible vast accumulations of private wealth is the non-profit-making foundation. Not a few of our citizens who have amassed great fortunes have used part of their millions to endow institutions dedicated to charity, to the promotion of education, to scientific research, or to other worthy causes. No doubt such projects have been inspired by mixed motives. In some cases there may have been a wish to atone for the methods by which the fortune was accumulated; in others, the desire for a monument as impressive as a pyramid but more useful may have been paramount. Moreover, in these days of high inheritance taxes, a non-profit-making foundation provides a neat method for the founder's heirs to retain control of business enterprises at the sacrifice of part of the income, most of which would, in any case, go to the tax-collector.

From the community's point of view privately controlled, permanent institutions in whose hands a significant fraction of the national wealth is concentrated have their dangers. They can be perverted into a means of providing sinecures for the founder's dependents. And when their objectives have been too narrowly defined, they may soon outlive their usefulness. It is important, therefore, that the law should insist on full publicity for their activities and accounts.

That said, we must admit that by all pragmatic tests some of our largest and most renowned foundations have fully justified their existence. The Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Foundation with its numerous ramifications, the Twentieth Century Fund set up by the late Edward A. Filene—to mention only a few—have all made important contributions, nationally and internationally. The report of the trustees of the Ford Foundation, the newest and reputed to be the richest of these organizations, which has just been published, gives us good reason to hope that it will follow in their footsteps.

The declared purpose of the Ford Foundation is "to receive and administer funds for scientific, educational, and charitable purposes, all for the public welfare." This is a mandate as vague as it is broad, and the trustees were certainly wise to seek expert advice before attempting to translate it into a positive program.

Their report, based on the recommendations of an impressive study committee, declares that "the problems and opportunities of our time arise out of man's relations to man—rather than his relations to the physical world." Consequently, the Ford trustees have decided for the time being to concentrate their resources on the study and amelioration of social and political conditions, and in particular to support activities which (1) contribute to world peace, (2) strengthen the basic principles of freedom and democracy, (3) advance the economic well-being of people everywhere, (4) expand and improve educational facilities and promote greater equality of educational opportunity, (5) increase the scientific knowledge of factors which influence or determine human conduct.

Obviously this is still a very broad program, the value of which will be determined by the specific projects that the foundation undertakes. Nevertheless, the spirit with which the trustees have approached their preliminary task must be commended, for in drawing attention to social sore spots they have often been outspoken. Thus, speaking of the "need to achieve increased economic stability," their report points out that "despite the fact that our industrial economy is the most productive in history, it is still characterized by booms and depressions which cause suffering and waste and create social and political tensions." Again, they recognize that "even in this country persons of all races and colors do not have equal access to education. The advantages of education are also walled off behind economic barriers." Such sentiments are, of course, the commonplaces of the liberal press, but it is encouraging to find them echoed by a board headed by Henry Ford II. It is encouraging also to know that active management of the foundation will probably be placed in the able and vigorous hands of Paul Hoffman, who has just resigned as European Recovery Administrator.

## Korea in the U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*Flushing Meadow, September 30*

AFTER Vishinsky and Acheson made their peace proposals in the General Assembly, the other speakers discussed them. Two suggestions by Edward Kardelj, Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, received considerable attention in the press. The first was that any state which embarked upon or became engaged in hostilities should be branded a violator of the peace unless within twenty-four hours it proclaimed its willingness to cease fire and withdrew altogether two days later. The second was that a permanent Commission for Good Offices be created, composed of twelve representatives of small countries, which should carefully study every international dispute to discover, if possible, how it could be settled peaceably.

The remarks of the British Foreign Secretary were given less space, but I found them extremely interesting, perhaps because I had just come from England with a vivid awareness of the anxiety there over the course external events were taking. Between the lines of Mr. Bevin's carefully prepared speech one could sense how perturbed he was to see the policy of the Atlantic coalition affected by American domestic considerations or decided by impulse rather than reflection.

This criticism was particularly significant coming from Mr. Bevin, who is known as the most militant anti-Russian of the British governing team. Where the Russians are concerned, the former chief of Transport House is strongly influenced by the accumulated resentment of the Western trade-union leader against the Communists in his own labor movement. A conservative of the old school like Lord Curzon might have had a more elastic policy toward Russia, for he would not have been so personally enraged when Socialists were treated as traitors and purged by a Cominform tolerating no differences of opinion.

Mr. Bevin's anti-Russian sentiments are held in check, however, by the traditional British policy—twice mentioned with pride in his speech—of adjusting national ambitions to reality. "For more than two centuries the British people were responsible for the administration of vast areas of Asia, and we believe that long association has given us some insight into the affairs of that great continent." This insight, together with Britain's commercial interests, was what led Mr. Bevin to extend recognition to the Communist government of China, to favor the seating of its delegates on the Security Council, and to dissociate himself politely but firmly from any adventure in Formosa.

The same tradition of proceeding cautiously leads

him now to oppose the Acheson plan, even though in a speech to the gallery he said that he was "in full agreement with its objectives." Americans are mistaken if they believe Great Britain and France support Mr. Acheson's idea of by-passing the difficulties that the veto has created in the Security Council by transferring jurisdiction over questions of war or peace to the Assembly. Both delegations have strong objections to the Acheson plan, objections which are resented the more by the Americans because they cannot be easily refuted. "If we must go to war against Russia," I heard a French delegate say, "let's not be voted into it by Nicaragua."

After I heard the speech of the Bolivian representative, as empty as it was eloquent, I decided my French friend had slipped up on his geography. He must have meant Bolivia. The delegate's discourse expressed an embarrassing subservience to Washington. The long history of inter-American disputes was blotted out; never had the United States cherished any thought except for the welfare and happiness of the Latin countries. The Acheson plan assures a "yes" vote for any project placed before the U. N. by the United States. Even those who are most critical of the slowdowns and obstructions to which the Security Council has been subjected by the Russian veto may well hesitate, considering the present composition and voting arrangements of the Assembly, to give it the full powers proposed. In their speeches supporting the Russian plan both Hoffmeister for Czechoslovakia and Wierblowski for Poland maintained the conciliatory tone set by Vishinsky; the Polish delegate even agreed that some points in the Acheson plan could serve as a basis for discussion.

Similar reservations about the plan were voiced by the Israeli Foreign Minister, Moshe Sharett. He admitted that it "merited very serious study," but at the same time he stressed the idea that a way out of the present crisis should be found in a renewal of cooperation among the five great powers—the substance of the Vishinsky plan. Foreign Minister Schuman of France, although determined to utter no word that might be considered uncomplimentary to the United States, also gave less than unconditional support to the Acheson proposal.

Perhaps M. Schuman was affected by the uneasiness of his colleague, Jules Moch, who came to New York for a meeting of the Defense Ministers of the Big Three. M. Moch was embarrassed by the tone in which General Marshall addressed his French and British colleagues. Apparently the new American Secretary of Defense shares the view of those Congressmen who charge that the nations of Western Europe "are not doing their best" to prepare against attack. M. Moch, unable to make the commitments requested by General Marshall, announced that he would refer the whole

question to his government. Thus a new Franco-American defense crisis has quietly developed.

In the Security Council as well as in the General Assembly's Political and Security Committee one could observe resistance on the part of certain delegations that are ordinarily enrolled in the "American majority" to being dragged into a policy that would make the United Nations a kind of holding company for the Atlantic coalition. The adoption of the Ecuadorian resolution in the Security Council practically sent the ghostly Chinese Nationalist regime back to its tomb. With the exception of the United States, Cuba, and the Chinese Nationalists themselves, the entire Council voted to ask the Peking government to send delegates for the discussion of Formosa on November 15. The United States representative had the common sense to bow to the vote and help prevent Dr. Tsiang from using the double veto. For the moment it was the liquidation of Chiang Kai-shek.

I say "for the moment," because in the proceedings of the Political Committee, and more especially in the lobbies, one could perceive a remnant of wishful thinking among persons who still expect surprises in Korea. They hope that eventually a United Nations drive across the Thirty-eighth Parallel and deep into North Korea may bring about Communist China's intervention, which in turn will justify full utilization of Formosa and of Chiang Kai-shek.

It was, on the other hand, the fear of China entering the fight, together with the desire to make sure of a strong and independent commission, that moved certain delegations to delay action on the eight-power resolution on Korea, prolonging the discussion into Monday. The Russians, who this morning infuriated the Political Committee by injecting the question of the Greek executions, regained the attention of the members when in the afternoon Vishinsky hinted at the possible consequences if the United Nations should sanction an offensive in North Korea, ignoring appeals for a halt at the Thirty-eighth Parallel and an attempt to negotiate a settlement. Many delegates seemed well aware that it was one thing to fight in South Korean territory and another to oppose the North Koreans on their own soil, defending their villages and homes.

So far China has not intervened, though, as Joseph Alsop said yesterday in the *New York Herald Tribune*, "... in any of these recurrent crises the smallest Russian or Chinese intervention, which might well have been dressed up or concealed, would have tipped the balance against us." If now General MacArthur is given a free hand to invade North Korea, China may decide to step in, and its intervention may still "tip the balance"—between peace and possible total war. For the government of Mao Tse-tung to accept passively the defeat of

the North Koreans may have been painful, but to allow the authority of Syngman Rhee, backed by the power of the United States, to be extended to the doors of Manchuria might prove too nasty a dose to swallow.

All the delegates I have talked with agree that the next few days will present a great challenge to the United Nations. To put the matter plainly, many Europeans and Asians, including those who have supported the U. N.'s course in Korea, recognize quite openly that it would never have acted so vigorously if Russia had not been involved. They recall the Council's failure to apply military sanctions when the Arab states invaded Palestine and when the Dutch defied U. N. orders in Indonesia. In other words, the view of many delegates is that there are two kinds of aggression and two ways of dealing with it, depending on whether it carries the banner of communism or a flag of a less offensive color.

The United Nations has now the chance to insist upon a policy in Korea which will fully justify its course of action in that country. The eight-power proposal calling for the immediate appointment of a new, strong U. N. commission for Korea could provide the basis for such a policy. But if it is to do that, some delegations must assert their independence and insist that the principle of a negotiated peace, as proposed today by Nehru, should prevail. The developing conflict between loyalty to group commitments and loyalty to the basic idea of the United Nations is what makes the present Assembly more exciting than any other since San Francisco and even gives it the quality of great drama.

## Indian Power Politics

BY K. RANJASWAMY

*New Delhi, September 23*

THE annual meeting of the Indian National Congress, just concluded at Nasik, was a personal and political triumph for Prime Minister Nehru. His disagreement with Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel on the choice of president of the Congress had brought to the surface differences between the two top leaders which for three years had been threatening the Congress's half-century of unity. Purshottamdas Tandon's election seemed at first to be a victory for Patel, who had supported him, and for Tandon's views on such important questions as communalism and Indo-Pakistan relations, which were commonly supposed to differ from Nehru's. Nehru, thereupon, called upon the Congress not only to restate its policy in regard to communalism but also to give its verdict on the government's foreign and economic policies.

Immediately the political atmosphere of the country

became surcharged with excitement and speculation. Tandon, however, in his presidential address showed that he was a disciplined party member and, whatever his personal views might be, would always uphold the decisions of the Congress. He declared, moreover, that India could never think of wiping out the 35,000,000 Moslems within its borders, even though Pakistan drove out its non-Moslems.

In response to Nehru's challenge the Congress reiterated its determination to maintain at all costs the secular character of the state, ratified the Indo-Pakistan minorities agreement as the only effective way of safeguarding minorities in the two countries, indorsed the government's foreign policy, and stated in unambiguous terms that its economic objective was the establishment of a welfare state with a mixed economy. The resolutions on all these subjects were drafted by Nehru himself and adopted without the addition or deletion of a comma.

The question that remains is whether these policies will be implemented in the spirit in which they were conceived. One group complains that other Congress resolutions have become practically a dead letter because the Congress machinery in the capital and provinces is under the control of men basically opposed to the position of the Prime Minister. The recent presidential election did in fact give the impression that Congress machinery was not under Nehru's control. Nehru's friends hold that this anomalous situation, in which power and patronage are in the hands of a group without responsibility, must be ended. The question has assumed special importance just at present, for the coming general elections have centered interest on the election machinery which will select the Congress Party's candidates. At the Nasik meeting it was decided to postpone consideration of the issue in order to allow time for suggestions to be made and examined. But Prime Minister Nehru's reported decision not to join the Congress Working Committee, the party's supreme executive, has made some action necessary. For the head of the Congress government not to be a member of the Working Committee would weaken the prestige of both government and party.

The present political situation in India is extremely confused. If President Tandon fails to persuade Nehru to join his executive, it may not be long before Congress splits. An opposition group is already being formed under the leadership of Kripalani, who was a candidate for the presidency of the Congress, to fight what it describes as the fascist tendencies of the Congress and to root out its dishonesty and corruption. Nehru apparently has some sympathy for this group. An impartial observer watching developments at close quarters cannot escape the conclusion that power politics has gripped the Indian National Congress.

## *Alarm in Russia*

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*Paris, September 27*

UNTIL a few weeks ago most Russians apparently believed that there would be no war. Or rather that there would be war eventually—it would be un-Marxist to think otherwise—but that it would be fought by our children or grandchildren; probably in thirty or forty years. This relatively happy belief is no longer entertained, judging from what conversations one still has with Russians and from the tone of their press.

The "war in 1990" theory was based on two considerations. One was that there existed a balance between the Soviet bloc and the "Atlantic" bloc: Soviet superiority in land forces and American superiority in atomic weapons canceled each other out. Since Russia had no desire to be "atomized," the argument ran, it was not going to invade either Western Europe or the Near East. Nor would the Americans start anything. The second reason for not expecting war was the moral the Russians drew from the first two months of the Korean war—namely, that Asian peoples in revolution could not be defeated by a mere concentration of tanks and aviation; they were fighting a "just war" and were therefore "invincible." This note recurred over and over again in Soviet propaganda.

There is evidence now to show that a sharp change has taken place in Russian opinion in the last two or three weeks, especially since the turn of the tide in Korea. On the surface everything is still the same: Soviet propaganda still suggests nothing other than that the Soviet Union will continue to develop into the mightiest economic power in the world. As distinct from a period of intensive rearmament like 1939-40, when practically all Soviet industry was converted to war production, agricultural machinery and tractors are still being produced in numerous plants. But there are signs that the conversion of peace industries into war industries will begin shortly, though Soviet propaganda until recently has insisted that the real purpose of American rearmament was merely to "upset the Soviet plans of Socialist reconstruction," and that Russia was not going to be intimidated or "diverted from her course." It is also probable that the decentralization of the principal war industries, which has been planned but only partially carried out, will be intensified in coming months.

Two factors which have spread alarm in Russia and are likely to bring about serious changes of policy are the "preventive war" speeches of leading Americans and the virtual "atomization" of Korea. The war in Korea has brought home to the Russian people—the military must have known what was what from the outset—that technical and industrial superiority in war counts

more in the long run than the human spirit, and that bombing can crush any people. A. Chakovsky, in a dispatch published in the *Literary Gazette*, wrote: "Those American air bombings! One cannot speak of them without clenching one's fists." The sufferings of the Korean people have created a tremendous new problem. Are colonial and semi-colonial peoples to be encouraged to fight their "just wars of liberation" if they are to be virtually "atomized," as the Koreans have been?

The Russians were clearly shaken by the preventive-war speeches of Matthews, Spaatz, and others and seemed to be profoundly relieved by the replacement of Johnson by Marshall. They gathered from this that there were "some responsible people in America who knew what a boomerang an atomic attack on Russia would be." The Marshall appointment has, however, certain disadvantages from the Russian standpoint. One Soviet paper said, "He can camouflage America's designs more skilfully than the 'maniacs'." The preventive-war advocates, as the Soviets rightly noted, greatly alarmed Western Europe and were a godsend to the "Partisans of Peace," but Marshall, it is feared, will instil Western Europe with a unity of purpose now lacking, and in the process the Communists and Partisans of Peace will be more or less politely eliminated. However, the Russians can still be thankful for the Deweys—they "show the world America's real face."

In the long run the Russians may think Marshall's ability to lend an air of respectability to American policy

more dangerous to the peace of the world than the fanaticism of the Johnsons and Matthews, but on a short-term basis they welcome it as affording a breathing space in which a general peace settlement may be reached. They believe that some influential Americans are still unconvinced that a general war is inevitable, and they hope Truman and Marshall are among them.

Since the Russians are confident that the majority of Koreans are heart and soul with the Northerners, they would doubtless fully support a solution on the lines said to have been proposed by the Chinese: the withdrawal of the North Koreans to the Thirty-eighth Parallel, the withdrawal of United Nations forces to Pusan, and a plebiscite—obviously a point open to bargaining—to be followed by an election under international supervision. Only, it is asked, would America really accept the verdict of the Korean people if, as is likely, it should be favorable to the Communists?

All the indications are that after the November elections in the United States, Russia will come forward with a far-reaching peace offer, much more realistic than Mr. Vishinsky's latest proposal, which was intended merely for propaganda. As a result of Korea, the Russians are now clearly on the defensive; they may even be said, for the present, to have written off Korea, and perhaps Vietnam, just as in the past they wrote off Persian Azerbaijan when things got too hot. Pending this peace offer, it might be fatal to do anything that would drive Russia out of the U. N.

## Outlook for November

BY ROBERT BENDINER

### I. Excitement in Connecticut

**G**ENERALLY speaking, an off-year election in Connecticut is no contest. Not since the esteemed Dr. Wilbur Lucius Cross won the governorship in 1934 has a Democrat in a non-Presidential year done more than go through the motions. But Chester Bowles has changed all that. Whether he wins or loses in November—and he has a good fighting chance to win—there is no apathy in Connecticut this fall.

For this turn of events, which the Republicans can hardly regard as a boon, there are several good reasons. First, both Senate seats are at stake, besides the governorship and the six Congressional posts. With the Republicans needing only seven seats to capture the upper

house in Washington, the two races in Connecticut, both unpredictable, take on national importance. In the second place, thanks to a Republican legislature that wanted permanently to restrict gubernatorial elections to off years, the governor's term will from now on be four years instead of two. This means that if the Democrats succeed in confounding the prophets this fall, they will have time to dig in deep and perhaps change for good the state's political complexion. If not, they can forget any such dreams for the foreseeable future.

The third factor in the current excitement is Bowles himself. Everything about the Governor and his administration is controversial and serves to heighten the public interest. By almost continuous wrestling with a Republican house and by calling five special sessions of the legislature he has kept the pot boiling and kept state politics on the front-page. The Republicans do more than suggest that this was the real purpose of the special sessions, and whether this is true or not, the outsider going into Connecticut today has the odd sen-

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*THIS is the first of a series of analyses of key Congressional and gubernatorial contests. It will be followed by reports from Idaho, Oregon, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York.*

sation of being back in the lively heyday of the New Deal. People either idolize Bowles or they can't speak of him without taking on that shade of apoplectic purple that habitually colored the countenances of Westchester commuters when they discussed the iniquities of That Man in the White House. The parallel is astonishing, even down to the vindictive little anecdotes about the Governor's alleged foibles.

**A** GAINST the massive figure of Bowles, the Republicans have chosen to oppose, in stature if not temperament, neither a Willkie nor a Dewey but a Landon—a young Landon with a flair for the theatrical—in the person of Congressman John Lodge. Bearer of a distinguished name in New England politics, grandson of Henry Cabot and brother of the present Senator from Massachusetts, John has not been one of the family's outstanding successes. Nor has he had the kind of career that would normally recommend him to the Republican Party of Connecticut. Schooled at Harvard, he had made no mark either in business or in the law, for which he was trained, and until Clare Luce adopted him four years ago as her potential successor in Congress, he had had no interest in politics. An amiable chap of good appearance, he had gone to Hollywood in 1932, won bit parts in such products as "Murder in the Zoo," and supported Shirley Temple in "The Little Colonel." In Europe he fared somewhat better, particularly in Italy, where he not only made several pictures but married the attractive and talented Francesca Braggiotti, who has since entertained campaign audiences for him with song and dance. Both his marriage and his ability to speak Italian have in the past been played up as political assets in an appeal for the sizable Italian American vote of the industrial cities. On the other hand, they are thought to have cost him a certain amount of good-will among some of the native stock, who tend to look with disfavor on such exotic goings-on, as well as among independent voters who resent nationality appeals of this sort.

From a liberal standpoint Lodge's record in Congress has been pretty sour on domestic matters and reasonably good on foreign. He took the conservative Republican line against broadening the social-security system, the Brannan Plan, an increased minimum wage, and extension of reciprocal trade. He favored the Kerr bill to exempt natural gas producers from the restraining influence of the Federal Power Commission, the basing-point system, the so-called Communist-control bill, and, as organized labor has not forgotten, the Taft-Hartley act. In world affairs he has generally favored the foreign-aid program, though he was one of those who in July, 1949, signed a minority report that not only condemned further funds for Korea but broadcast to the world, Russia included, the view that "our position

[there] is untenable and indefensible." In spite of this, however, he did vote for aid to Korea last January.

I heard strangely little talk in the state's political circles about the war or the responsibility for it. Lodge's campaign lieutenants, in fact, are not talking much about national or international affairs. They seem eager to focus attention on state matters, and to concentrate on the sins of Bowles rather than the virtues of Lodge. Their standard-bearer himself sounded the keynote when he said in his acceptance speech that his opponent—he calls him "the A. D. A. boss," a far from accurate description of the Governor's present role in Americans for Democratic Action—"was attempting to bribe the people with their own money" in order to keep his administration in office, "depriving the people of their security through taxes . . . while at the same time offering to them the meager prospect of being uneasy wards of the state."

**B**EHIND this turgid talk is the very real animosity of Connecticut conservatives against the methods and approaches of a determinedly New Deal administration. The Republican legislature had actually passed a good housing bill in 1947 and appropriated the funds for it, but little or nothing had happened. Money was allocated for towns offering to participate, but the towns just sat on it. Most of them had not even got around to picking sites when the Bowles administration came in. Today every dollar is not only allocated but committed, with sites picked, contracts signed, deadlines set for plans, and more than 3,200 families buying homes for from \$10 to \$15 a month less than they could under ordinary financing. Similar vigorous action was taken in the fields of low-rent housing, school and hospital facilities, and an expanded welfare program.

The major weakness of Bowles's position—apart from the danger of a low vote, which has always favored the Republicans—lies, ironically, in the nature of his 1948 campaign, which he won by a scant margin of 2,200 votes. Relatively fresh from his achievements as OPA administrator at that time, Bowles made free use of the slogan "Right on Prices." In fact, he went so far as to pledge: "If I become your governor on November 2, I will immediately put into effect a voluntary plan to bring prices down here in Connecticut." The promise was perhaps rash to begin with, since there is little a state government can do to check prices, and world conditions have certainly made that little less. The Governor is now trying to induce President Truman to invoke some of the controls voted by Congress, but a flat comparison of current prices with those of two years ago is fuel to the Republican strategy of attacking Bowles as a breaker of promises. He is similarly vulnerable on the sales tax, which he now favors, though he denounced it last year in favor of the income

tax. Boosts in the federal income tax are responsible for this about-face.

Beyond this "broken promises" strategy, the G. O. P. is satisfied to fight the Governor as a radical and as a "queer duck," one who has introduced alien



Chester Bowles

concepts into the state and brought in outsiders to help him. One official went so far as to tell me that his ticket wasn't really opposing the Democratic Party as such but rather the Bowles clique which was ruining it. But for the most part the G. O. P.'s chief hope lies in keeping the vote down by pitching the whole campaign in

a minor key, letting the state's normal off-year lethargy turn the trick.

It is precisely here that the Republicans run head on into organized labor, which for the first time in the state's history is largely united and feverishly engaged in getting out the vote. In past years the Federation of Labor was largely Republican. Theoretically neutral in 1948, it privately worked for Bowles's opponent, Governor Shannon, who had once been its counsel. Two years before that as many as 50 per cent of the state's trade unionists were not even registered. But all that has been changed. Labor's League for Political Action (A. F. of L.), the Machinists, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and, on paper at least, the United Mine Workers are now working with the C. I. O. in a United Labor Committee, the chief objective of which is to get a minimum of 25,000 new voters on the rolls. Bowles's labor program—a 75-cent minimum wage, broader compensation laws, and extended unemployment insurance—is responsible for the shift. So is the fact that the program sailed through the Democratic Senate only to be blocked in the House, which, thanks to a unique constitution, is almost unalterably Republican. Ironically, labor is also hailing Bowles for balancing the budget, not always on its list of virtues.

**S**IMILARLY, the A. F. of L. once supported Joseph Talbot for Congress, only to watch him vote for the Case bill, the Hobbs bill, and other measures anathema to labor. Talbot is now running against Brien McMahon for the Senate—but without a prayer for any sizable slice of the labor vote. This is true even though

some Catholic dignitaries have been known to frown on McMahon for having shared with Senator Tydings the honor of putting Joe McCarthy in his place. The fact is that neither McCarthy nor the Communist bugaboo, so far at any rate, plays much of a role in the Connecticut campaign. The state is relatively free of the hysteria that emanates from Capitol Hill in Washington, with no purges to speak of and no epidemic of loyalty oaths. The A. F. of L. is assiduously spreading the word, particularly among the Irish Americans, that McCarthy's tactics are incompatible with good Catholicism. On the whole, McMahon is considered a likely winner even if Bowles loses. In part this is a reflection of his new standing as a statesman, acquired by virtue of his work on the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, and in part an indication of his opponent's weakness. Talbot is described by some Democrats as a "tavern politician," not too popular a species in Connecticut, and it is believed that not only the independents but even many Republicans will by-pass him in favor of the more highly regarded McMahon.

The Republicans hope to capitalize on the resentment which many Democrats showed when Bowles named William Benton, a political outsider, to fill out former Governor Baldwin's term in the Senate, but most of that resentment seems to have faded out. Not well known in the state at first, the junior Senator, once Bowles's partner in the advertising business, has through his own efforts received more publicity than any six-months Senator on record. This may turn out to be superficial, of course, and Benton, whose voting record has been consistently liberal, would be considered to have only an outside chance if his opponent were not even more of an unknown. Prescott S. Bush, a Brown Brothers, Harriman banking partner and a director of both the Columbia Broadcasting System and PanAmerican Airways, has up to now confined his political life to raising money for the Republican Party. His speeches to date, mostly stale clichés, indicate a successful banker's grasp of social problems.

All in all, the track is clear, the entries are straining, and the odds are just slightly in favor of the Republican colors—at least for the governorship. But almost anything can happen in a state where a Jasper McLevy, the Socialist Mayor of Bridgeport and also a nominee for governor, can link himself with a Vivien Kellems, an unsuccessful senatorial aspirant too far to the right to be acceptable even to the Republicans. Connecticut politicians didn't think the team so strange, though. The Republicans have always got along famously with the thrifty McLevy. They remember that Honest Jasper wouldn't have any of the Bowles housing program in Bridgeport, and that when his city's streets were once piled high with snow, he remarked in his curious Socialist fashion, "God put it there, let God take it away."

# Separate Peace for Japan?

BY FRED W. RIGGS

FOR several months rumors of impending negotiations for a peace treaty with Japan have clogged the air waves. Finally, on September 14, President Truman himself announced that an effort would "again be made" to conclude a treaty and added that the State Department would "initiate informal discussion as to future procedure." The next day a "high government official" disclosed that preliminary soundings would be undertaken at the current General Assembly through conversations with the delegates of Russia and our other allies in the war against Japan. Among the people to be consulted will be the Chinese—those that come from Formosa, that is.

If we could agree with the Russians on everything else, the Chinese question would remain to prevent an accord. Apparently, therefore, the only kind of peace treaty we can sign with Japan is a separate one. This, of course, will not be easy to arrange, for some of the little countries whose interests we have upheld so vigorously have different ideas about the Japanese from our own. It is as hard for them to abandon hope of reparations and of safeguards against the resurgence of Japanese militarism as it is for Germany's neighbors to acquiesce in its rearmament. Moreover, since we contracted in Moscow, when setting up the Far Eastern Commission, not to make any change "in the regime of control" in Japan without agreement of the commission—in which the Russians have a veto power—we shall lay ourselves open to charges of bad faith. The Chinese Nationalists also specifically agreed, in their 1945 treaty with the Russians, that they would not sign a separate peace treaty with Japan. That is one reason why the Nationalist government has been so reticent about the question.

Finally, it is doubtful whether the Japanese themselves would welcome a treaty which did not include the Russians; and unless they welcomed it, they would not be much good as an ally. Communists in Japan have of course loudly insisted on an over-all treaty, but so have many middle groups, especially the Social Democratic Party, as Thomas C. Smith reported in the August 12 issue of *The Nation*. Now, however, the Korean war seems to have swung public opinion the other way. At any rate the Liberal (conservative) Party of Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida is pushing for a separate treaty as soon as possible. Even *Asahi*, leading

champion of the Social Democratic opposition to a separate peace, said in an editorial on the day after President Truman's statement regarding the peace treaty that if the Russians adhered to their original position regarding procedure there would be no alternative but to go ahead with a separate agreement. If the Liberal Party exercises consideration for the "face" of the opposition, it should be possible to achieve "bi-partisan" unity in regard to the peace treaty.

The fear of a Russian invasion, intensified by the initial American defeats, has created a demand not only for an independent Japanese army but for the grant of bases to the United States, with American troops stationed in Japan not as an occupying force but, say, as American air squadrons are stationed in England. However, even if general Japanese support could be obtained for such a plan, the deciding factor, for this country, would be whether in an emergency Japan would prove more of an asset than a liability.

The answer to this question must be sought in political, military, and economic conditions in the Far East. Washington's present policy toward Japan is in general terms the same as its traditional policy. Since Secretary of State John Hay wrote his first note on the Open Door in China in 1898, the United States has attempted to prevent any one great power from gaining exclusive control of the eastern Asiatic mainland. Up to 1905 this meant primarily opposition to Russian expansion. After Japan defeated the czarist empire, emphasis was placed on preventing Japan's domination of China. During World War II President Roosevelt tried to build up China as a great power which could block either Russia or Japan. Giving the Chinese a permanent seat on the Security Council was one expression of this policy.

Its futility became apparent when the Chinese Communists drove the Nationalists to Formosa. As the shadow of the Kremlin fell over the vast Chinese hinterland, cold chills ran up and down the backs of America's political leaders. The potential danger of a remilitarized Japan began to be obscured by the present advantages of having a strengthened Japan as a Western bastion against Russia. The North Korean invasion cast a spotlight on this momentous problem. The growling of the Russian bear could be heard at Japan's door.

An alliance with Japan, however, is far less useful to us than the friendship of China. The new countries of Asia—such as India, Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines—regard China as a fellow-victim of Japanese aggression. Any attempt to revive Japanese military

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power and industrial production would stir up antagonism to the United States throughout Asia and the South Pacific. It would also have the more ominous consequence of drawing China and Russia together, thereby weakening the chance that the Communist leaders in Peking will assert their independence in foreign policy. Both the Chinese and Russians vividly recall that Japan, having annexed Korea after the Sino-Japanese war of 1895, proceeded to invade Manchuria and China proper, and that after the First World War it occupied eastern Siberia. The Russians, by setting off an explosion in Korea, have indirectly revived Chinese fear of Japan and of America as the force behind Japan. The Sino-Russian treaty of last February, which pledged each party to help the other if Japan or a state united with it "repeated" its earlier acts of aggression, takes on new and threatening significance in this historical context.

THE suspicions of the Chinese have not been quieted by recent developments in Japan, notably the indirect aid which the Japanese have given us in Korea and General MacArthur's authorization of a "national police reserve" of 75,000 men for Japan. Radio Moscow has been telling its listeners in the Far East that this force is but the beginning of a Japanese army which will be used by America for its aggressive purposes in Asia. The contention was supported when former Japanese generals—among them Takeo Matsuda, one-time commander in New Guinea—declared that the Japanese army and air force could be quickly rebuilt; officers and men, they said, could recover full efficiency in three to five months of intensive training.

That the Communists are fully utilizing the propaganda value of these events is clear from a study of their press and radio. On September 12, just before President Truman's statement, the *Central Press* of Korea, a Communist paper, charged that the United States wanted to train "Japanese soldiers for the Korean war" and was "mobilizing for war against all Asiatic nations, including the Chinese People's Republic." W. Averell Harriman, the President's special envoy, visited Japan, it said, "to solve the problem of the reorganization of the Japanese army in connection with the peace treaty." The United States, it continued, "would like to grab military bases in Japan, restore the Japanese army, and completely remilitarize the country." Thus American plans for a separate peace help the Russians bring the Chinese Communists more securely under the monolithic Soviet tent, counteracting any differences of opinion which might arise over such questions as the disposition of Manchuria, Mongolia, and Sinkiang.

A separate peace treaty would also put the Russians in an advantageous position to ruin Japan's economy, which is largely dependent on foreign trade. Japan's teeming population—81,000,000 in 1949, which means

more than 3,000 persons per square mile of arable land—has been supported in recent years by the rapid industrialization of the country. The main islands, however, are deficient in iron ore, coking coal, and other basic components of industry, and the economy is therefore not self-sustaining. Raw materials and food have to be obtained abroad in exchange for manufactures. Since the war, which lost them their empire and their merchant marine and created political obstacles to trade with Asia, the Japanese have been kept from starvation only by large and expensive imports from America. At the same time they have been able to sell very little to America, the major pre-war item, silk, having been largely replaced by nylon.

The Chinese could import a great deal of machinery and capital equipment from Japan to use in building up their new industries, but they are in no great hurry and can wait until Japan meets their terms before parting with the iron, coal, soy beans, and cotton which are so indispensable to Japan. Their terms will certainly include favors to the Communists and will weaken the ties between America and Japan. Once trade is restored the Chinese will be in a position to put great pressure on Japan merely by threatening to impose an embargo, which would throw its industrial economy into a tailspin. The Russians can also apply economic pressure by offering to permit the Japanese to fish off the Siberian coast and thereby regain a major pre-war source of food.

At present only the American subsidy is keeping Japan afloat. Obviously this cannot go on indefinitely. State Department officials calculate that Japan can increase its foreign earnings in two ways—by more sales to us and more trade with Southeast Asia. But even if we can step up our purchases in Japan—since the Korean war began we have been buying large quantities of supplies for the army—the Japanese will always be inclined to buy their raw materials in the cheaper and closer markets of China, where the dollars they earn will go farther. The countries of Southeast Asia will undoubtedly be in the market for machinery and capital equipment from Japan, but they will not want to restore the old trade in textiles and cheap manufactures, which they now prefer to make for themselves. In any event, some of the important raw materials which the Japanese used to get from Manchuria cannot be obtained in Southeast Asia.

In addition to the economic levers that the Russians can apply against Japan to separate it from the West, they can use political bait. For example, they might offer to return the Kuriles—which are not particularly important to them but are valuable to the Japanese as fishing grounds—and to demand that the United States return the Ryukyus and Bonins, including Okinawa and Iwo Jima. The whole offer could be neatly wrapped up in a treaty of non-aggression.

Given Japan's precarious economic situation, any government in Tokyo, after a peace treaty is signed, will face the problem of how to ward off widespread suffering and possible disaster. Should that government be pro-American and conservative, as is Premier Yoshida's Liberal Party regime, public opinion would swing to the opposition parties, which would be leftist and anti-American, or at least neutral in the cold war. Whether or not this brought the Communists to power, it would be disastrous to American hopes of utilizing Japan as a bastion in the Far East.

Various proposals have been put forward to overcome some of these difficulties. One of the most hopeful, and one which has been given considerable publicity in Japan, is that the security of Japan should be guaranteed, not by America unilaterally, but by the United Nations, according to the pattern developed for the defense of the Korean republic. Russia would, in theory at least, be invited to share in this guaranty. Such a solution could insure Asia in general and the Chinese in particular against revived Japanese militarism and at the same time keep Russia from seizing Japan. It would also make possible, in theory, the revival of trade. Whether or not this proposal could ever be carried out, it is clear that the signing of a separate peace with Japan in the near future involves so many hazards that all alternatives should first be thoroughly explored.

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## BESIDE THE POINT

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THE French have their risqué postcards, and we have our advertisements of girdles, brassières, and underpants. A poor substitute perhaps, and I wouldn't go so far as to say that girdles, brassières, and underpants are better than nothing. Still it may well be that the gentlemen would go less happily down to Wall Street to grub all day at money-making if they were denied their sub-way glimpses, to and fro, of Suspants, the Quest-shon Mark Bra, and those enchanting scanties which are displayed over the motto, Consider Your Public. A dream of fair women is made explicit enough in the ad about the gal going shopping in her Maidenform brassière—and who can measure the effect on the American imagination of the two-way stretch? It may not have made the American male less hypocritical, but you can bet your bottom nylons it has made him far more critical of hips; and only a 44 has anything to lose by the change in his attitude.

In view of this development in American culture, it is altogether fitting that the fit of a bra should have become a Major Issue—and I'm glad to note that the big department stores are facing up to it. Gimbels, for

instance. Ed Wynn in one of his finer moments brandished a violin and announced that he was going to play something from the Second Floor of Gimbels. I recently read an advertisement about something from the "New Fourth" floor of Gimbels that I've been humming ever since. It was an apostrophe to the Lov-é custom-fitted bra and it ran as follows (parentheses and all):

Why wear it . . . if it fits someone else? Gimbels realizes that the Perfect 36 (like most other arithmetic ideals) is but the Statistician's Dream. (We've queried statisticians of our acquaintance; they agree.) The problem is that brassières come off the assembly line—and women don't. When you buy a skirt, chances are you take up the hem or tuck in the waist. When you buy a bra, you take it as it comes and suffer in silence. Show us the woman whose proportions are exactly what the manufacturer thinks they are. No matter how large a ready-to-wear size range may be, it just isn't versatile enough. (Confess now: you've never been measured, personally, by a brassière company!) Gimbels wagers you go about on the horns of a dilemma: you're probably one size here and another size there. Lov-é takes you neatly off these horns with custom fitting. When you visit Gimbels' beautiful new 4th-floor Lov-é Shop, your brassière will be fitted to you, not to an abstraction. Naturally, you can't order yours by mail (the postman just doesn't have the skill of Lov-é's expert fitters).

I, for one, had scarcely been aware of the pros and cons of bra-fitting until I conned the prose of this definitive pronouncement. I never knew, for instance, what statisticians dream about; but I've always thought they must have a human side, and the next time a Certified Public Accountant or a compiler for the Cost of Living Index starts talking to me, sotto voce, about round figures I'll ask him how he thinks Mae West manages to balance *her* budget.

It's perfectly true, though I'd never given much thought to it, that I've never been measured, personally, by a brassière company. I'm sure I wouldn't care for it; and I doubt whether I'd even like to hear about the sort of woman a bra-manufacturer has in mind.

The crack at postmen in the last sentence does seem to me unfair—they may not be letter perfect but I'm sure that most of them, underpaid though they are, are as versatile as need be. Still I found the remark as suggestive as the rest of the Gimbels gambit. It may even provide a clue to the reason why the postman always rings twice.

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KANSAS has a law which reads as follows: "When two trains approach each other at a crossing they shall come to a full stop and neither shall start until the other has gone." Sounds like a prospectus for a study in international relations.

M. M.

# Union Survival in a Permanent Crisis

BY AARON LEVENSTEIN

**A** MERICAN labor is certainly going along with the government in the international crisis. But where is it going?—simply back to the conditions that prevailed during the mobilization for World War II? At the moment most labor leaders are thinking in terms of the regulated economy of 1942-45—a no-strike pledge, maintenance of membership, government seizure, the Little Steel formula. But even if those phrases are used again, which is not likely, the substance they represent will be different.

We are facing an economic revolution, not just a spin of the wheel, which will settle back finally to a pre-crisis position. In 1941-42 we could look forward to an end to the emergency. The duration of the period of abnormality was uncertain, but we knew that it would be over at some future date. Now we face a conflict that may go on for the rest of our lives; with or without global war, the prospect is not peace in our time. For a while we shall still talk of an "emergency," but ultimately we shall consider the economic changes a permanent feature of our existence.

This single fact must alter the nature of labor-management relations as surely it will affect the whole pattern of American life. During World War II when employers and union leaders examined proposed government restrictions, they asked: "Where will that leave us at the war's end?" Before very long we shall be judging contemplated controls by asking: "Can we live with this indefinitely—perhaps for the rest of our lives?" Though it has not publicly admitted it, the Administration seems to be at least unconsciously aware of this prospect. The whole theory of the Defense Production Act suggests that the functions of control are to be permanent. Many powers are vested, not in temporary boards, but in the hands of the permanent agencies of government—the Departments of Commerce and Interior, for example. Even the specially created boards have titles which do not indicate a transitory character. President Truman has set up a National Production Authority, not a National Defense Commission as Roosevelt did in 1940, or a War Production Board.

While labor must expect a complete reorganization of its relations with management and government, no one can as yet foresee the specific steps that will be

taken. The first issues to arise will obviously be the right to strike, the guaranty of union security, the policing of wages and working conditions. The right to strike will be an early casualty; it is impossible to see how this can be avoided. America's production problem is tremendous—precisely because of the comparatively full employment that has prevailed since 1946. The depression preceding World War II gave us a large reservoir of unemployed labor available for military and industrial use. Now, whatever flow of man-power is directed toward mobilization must be diverted from civilian production. In addition, we are feeling the effect of the low birth rate of the depression years: fewer young people are coming of age to serve in factories and the armed forces.

**W**ITH our limited reserves of man-power, interruptions of output will be even less tolerable than they were during the last war, and there will be less reluctance to curtail the right to strike. John L. Lewis may prefer to lay down his own "no-strike" dictum without Mr. Green's assistance in working out an agreement with the government, but the new production challenge will not be met by the voluntary no-strike pledge of World War II—though it worked much better than anti-labor propagandists were willing to admit—or the loosely enforced restraints imposed by the war-time Smith-Connally act. The government will certainly crack down implacably on any repetition of the war-time coal strikes. Moreover, Mr. Lewis's appearances in the federal courts during the post-war years leave little doubt that the government can prosecute successfully. Since that is so, the unions will probably attempt to beat the government to the draw by offering another no-strike pledge. Any lingering doubts about the government's attitude would be dissipated by a Republican Congressional victory in November.

The surrender or the curtailment of the right to strike will not come immediately—if only because the agreements now being signed in basic industries are for long terms, some of them for five years. To a large extent the workers themselves, not the union leaders, will decide the urgency of the strike question: the index of wildcatting will reflect the pressure. On the other hand, the Communist-controlled unions are in a position to speed the decision outlawing strikes. A great deal depends, too, on the result of the impending steel negotiations.

Yet because of the nature of our society, the govern-

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ment has to pay a price even for what it can exact by force. To strip labor of the right to strike might leave it open to annihilation from the right or to capture by the Communists. Thus the question of union security takes the spotlight just as soon as the right to strike is suspended. In consequence, labor can safely feel that the government will guarantee some kind of union security in return for its surrender of the strike weapon. But what kind of security? In the last war maintenance of membership was the answer. Will this be enough now?

Consider the economic background. Our military needs will take a larger slice of civilian goods than they took last time. In addition, because this emergency is without prospect of an end in our time, we shall pay heavily in taxes. When the Bureau of Internal Revenue gets through with the worker's pay envelope, purchasing power—the individual's access to goods—will have been considerably reduced. If unions are to retain their membership in a period when they cannot register economic gains, they must have union security.

Unfortunately, we enter this period with a national labor law that places obstacles in the way of union security. The Taft-Hartley ban on the closed shop and its limitations on the union shop, maintenance of membership, and the check-off of dues present the first major problem to be solved. All signs indicate that these provisions of the labor law will go by the board fairly soon. With regulation placing so many burdens on the government's shoulders, the requirement that elections must precede negotiations for a union shop will certainly be shed. Even Taft is ready to repeal that provision.

Amendment of the Taft-Hartley act will give union organization a chance to fight for survival but not settle the issue of security. It will merely permit employers to sign union-shop agreements if they wish. But when labor no longer has the strike weapon, will employers consent to the union shop? Evidently the government will have to take a hand in the writing of union-security clauses. In the last war President Roosevelt told John L. Lewis that the government would under no circumstances force workers to join a union. But some form of the union shop will be essential. The most likely solution will be for the government to order the kind of union shop that Walter Reuther got from General Motors—compulsory maintenance of membership for those already in the union and for those who are newly hired, freedom for old employees who are non-members to stay out. In effect this would be a reversal of Roosevelt's stand. However, if the government insists on the quasi-union shop, it will also have to assume new responsibilities toward the individual members. Union authority over the individual worker will be increased, and the government will have to protect him

against capricious or discriminatory expulsion by union officials.

Union security is less likely to come as a formal government pronouncement than to emerge from the wrangling around bargaining tables and the threats of interruption of production. It will be evolved case by case in hearings before government boards. In the end we shall probably have government-mandated union security of a higher order than we had in World War II.

**B**EFORE the union-security question is settled, wage stabilization will be under way, probably by the end of 1950. At the very least, the administrative machinery will have been oiled. The men who will run wage regulation are already winding up their private affairs and preparing to move to Washington. It will not be enough for them to trot out some new Little Steel formula, for they will face a much more complex situation than did their predecessors in the War Labor Board of 1942-45. We started wage stabilization in 1942 after a period of depression which had caused sub-standard conditions and helter-skelter pay structures. We shall start it this time after a period of unprecedented prosperity for American workers, during which some rationalization of pay structures remained as a legacy from the old War Labor Board. The stabilizers of yesteryear merely tried to slow down the galloping war-time pay rolls; real wages actually increased. But in a permanent arms economy we must do much more paying as we go. We may even be compelled to adopt a program of forced savings or forced purchase of government bonds. The deductions on the worker's pay slip will swell to painful proportions. Sales taxes will siphon off more of his purchasing power.

Since the government is expected to allow a period of further wage rises before clamping down, the unions are indulging in a last fling of demands in an attempt to set up a position that will reduce the impact of stabilization. Some are bargaining for cost-of-living escalator clauses like the one obtained by the United Automobile Workers. Their leaders have apparently forgotten the fate of escalator clauses in World War II. The C. I. O. Shipyard Workers, for example, had one in their contract. By May of 1942 an automatic 13-cents-an-hour increase was due them as a result of the climbing cost of living. President Roosevelt himself intervened to induce the union to surrender most of the gain, though the industry was responsible for its payment under the contract.

I raised that point with a spokesman for the U. A. W. before reporting on the General Motors settlement for *The Nation* (see Satisfaction at General Motors, June 17, 1950). "What will happen to your

escalator clause," I asked, "if we get into a shooting war?" "In that case," he answered, "all bets are off anyway."

After war broke out in Korea, the U. A. W. leaders began to feel serious doubts about their cost-of-living policy. In negotiating with Chrysler they refused to accept an escalator clause, though later, in dealing with Ford, the escalator clause became the basis of the settlement. The explanation for this second reversal seems to lie in the belief that the Administration will not upset the contracts—a conclusion supported by the fact that three days before the Ford agreement the settlement of the railroad strike dictated by the White House included an escalator clause, though the workers had not

asked for it. Of course the Administration can back-track and nullify the clauses when the mobilization becomes more intense. Or it may believe that price control can be so effective that the cost of living will remain stationary. Or perhaps it will simply decide to wipe out cost-of-living increases by taxing the added dollars out of the pay envelope. In any event, real wages will be reduced despite the current escalator clauses. That in turn will mean rank-and-file pressure on union leaders, with many a Communist boring from inside. The effect of this will not be wholly negative, for the fear of Communist influence and the danger of wildcat strikes will lead to a policy of government protection for union organization *per se*

## Fourth Reich—Made in U. S. A.

BY CAROLUS

Bonn, September 18

**R**ETURNING to Germany after four weeks abroad I can scarcely recognize my country. Is this the same West German state; are these the same politicians, the same newspapers, the same parties? No one talks now about the Schuman plan, about German consulates in foreign countries, about the unemployed and the price of bread, about former Nazis and the law for the defense of democracy. No high commissioner of the occupying powers raises a warning finger against industrial cartels, or urges further dismantlings, or demands a house-cleaning in the I. G. Farben trust. As a small manufacturer who was on the train with me said, "At last German is being spoken again in Germany." Swelling out his chest, he added, "They need us. They need us badly. If they had listened to Hitler they wouldn't be in that mess in Korea. It serves them right. And now they want us to pick their chestnuts out of the fire."

German does indeed seem to be spoken again in Germany. The *Neue Zeitung*, organ of the American occupation, reporting a party given by the German Automobile Club at Aschaffenburg in Bavaria, was indignant because the guests had been invited to a "Korean night," with colored lanterns, dancing, refreshments, and vaudeville acts. In the bars and night clubs of Rhineland cities, where the men who have made millions in illegal trade with Communist East Germany drown their sorrow in French champagne, the jazz singers and monologuists, to thunderous applause, crack jokes about the American tap-dancers in Korea. At political meetings government officials in fiery speeches play upon the people's growing sense of independence. "Petersberg

[Bonn headquarters of the Allied High Commission] must go!" shouts the Minister President of Hesse at a meeting in Frankfurt. The federal Minister of Justice, Dr. Dehler, mocks "the holy Three Kings of Petersberg, who have not the slightest idea of Germany's problems." Herr Seeböhm, federal Minister of Commerce, declares that the remilitarization of Germany cannot be discussed until "the honor of German soldiers has been vindicated and the shameful verdicts of Nürnberg have been set aside."

Officers' associations, open and secret, and the leading West German newspapers echo the ministers' new truculence. General Manteuffel, Adenauer's military adviser, said in a recent interview, "Whoever wants the German soldier to shoulder his gun again, must first acquit his generals of the war crimes of which they were accused." A second demand pressed in all quarters with great vehemence was phrased as follows by *Die Welt*, a semi-official government organ published in Hamburg: "Before there can be any talk of a defense force, former army officers and other military officials must be placed on an absolutely equal footing with civil-service employees." In other words, full pensions must be granted to Hitler's old officers, including the murderers of the S. A. and S. S.

Tabloids and illustrated papers are flooding the country with sentimental recollections of the Goebbels-Göring crowd and heroic tales of submarine commanders and flight officers. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and the well-known weekly *Christ und Welt* agree that if Germany is to take part in the defense of the West, "the honor of the German soldier, which was dragged in the dirt by the war-crimes trials, must be publicly and solemnly vindicated." A few months ago one German soldier, General von Manstein, was sentenced to eighteen

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's correspondent in West Germany.

years' imprisonment by a British military court because two million Poles, Russians, and Jews had been gassed in the section of the former eastern front under his command, with his knowledge and consent and in part by his orders. Yet according to the Bonn correspondent of the Paris *Monde*, whose friendly attitude toward the Germans is well known, "the hour of rehabilitation for German generals is approaching swiftly."

**R**EHABILITATION, reemployment! Already they are cleaning their old uniforms, getting out their swords and decorations. General Dittmar, the well-known Nazi radio commentator, writes articles on the military situation in Korea in which he criticizes American strategy. General Guderian, who invaded Poland, France, and Russia at the head of Hitler's armored divisions, says that with two billion American dollars he could raise and equip a *Panzer* army on which the Russians would break their teeth.

For the present Guderian can make his plans only on paper. In the eastern zone his talents might be put to greater use. The Russians have gone much farther than the Western Allies in using and arming the Germans. Former Hitler officers in the eastern zone have been asked to register for military service. Eight hundred thousand young men are drilling against "Wall Street imperialism." Elections to the Parliament of the East German satellite state are decided by the familiar terrorist methods. The German Communist Party is being purged. No party dignitary in either the eastern or the western zone can be sure that he will not be deposed tomorrow; in the Soviet zone he may find himself in prison.

Almost all prominent Communists who passed their years of exile in France, England, or the United States and might have been contaminated by Western ideas have been victims of the general purge; even Gerhard Eisler's star has paled. The vice-chairman of the German Communist Party, a deputy in the Bonn Parliament named Müller, was literally kidnapped and taken to the Soviet zone, where he disappeared. All Communist papers in West Germany have been suppressed, but Communist literature is widely circulated underground. Peace parades are forbidden, but hundreds of young men march in them until they are broken up by the police. And the police show no enthusiasm in doing it—not knowing how soon the Russians will take over. To give them more courage their identification tags have been removed from their uniforms.

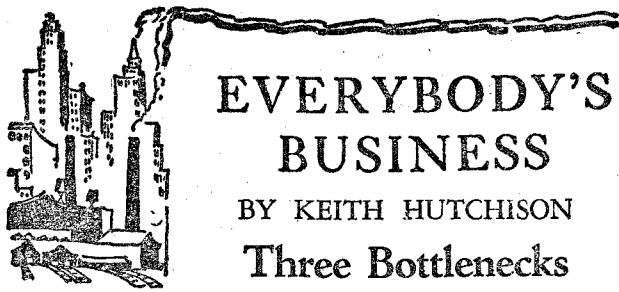
The threat of a Russian invasion is the best weapon in the Communists' propaganda arsenal. Official West German and American propaganda has nothing so effective. To counter the Communist youth organization, Freie Deutsche Jugend, which receives abundant funds from the Soviet zone, it is reported that the federal gov-

ernment, the Allied High Commission, and German industrialists are financing the organization of another group, the Bund Deutscher Jugend, headed by General Halder, former chief of the general staff. The *Abendzeitung* of Munich fans anti-Russian feeling by printing the following item under the heading "Witches' Brew for Mankind":

A German chemist was taken from Berlin to the Soviet Union and forced to work in a laboratory as a specialist in bacteria research. The laboratory carried on experiments with the bacilli of plague, parrot fever, typhus, and malaria. Flies were infected with the germs. If these flies are taken to other countries, they will bring death to untold thousands of the inhabitants. The *Abendzeitung* today calls its readers' attention to these facts.

The *Kölnische Rundschau* reports that a new anti-Communist society in Düsseldorf has been putting large red posters in the windows of shops and cafes. These proclaim: "I am a scoundrelly accomplice: I support the tools of Moscow." They are intended to shame the hundreds of thousands of middle-class citizens—manufacturers, shopkeepers, butchers and bakers—who since the Korean war started have signed the Communists' peace petitions and contributed secretly to the party chest as a means of saving their skins if the Russians march in. The fear that weighs on the whole German bourgeoisie is not dispelled by generals' speeches or the progress of reconstruction. No reliance is placed on a provisional peace treaty, unrestricted production, a police force of thirty thousand, or the expected remilitarization.

Meanwhile business is booming. Prices are rising; stocks are rising. Dr. Adenauer, leader of the bloc of bourgeois parties, declares that "social peace" is the prerequisite of a successful defense against the East. No new wage demands, though the mark's purchasing is steadily falling! It is not surprising that strike movements are getting under way, the first expression of the workers' strength since 1933. Any real resistance to a Communist dictatorship and invasion from the East must be based on the workers; yet employers still seem to think labor exists only to be exploited, and the demands of its representatives in the Social Democratic Party, the second strongest German party, are repulsed and despised. In Rhineland-Westphalia, the largest of the West German *Länder*, the Social Democrats have been forced out of the government; in Schleswig-Holstein they lost their majority in the last election owing to the rise of a new refugees' party—refugees now form 42 per cent of the population. Though they are still the strongest party in the province, a coalition of bourgeois parties has barred them from the government, and the new Minister President, an oil manufacturer named Bartram, is actually a former S. S. man.



## EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

### Three Bottlenecks

ALL current discussions of the potential strength of the Western world very properly give pride of place to this country's tremendous capacity to produce. It is, indeed, an awe-inspiring phenomenon, and even though industrial production has recently scaled new peaks, I believe it can mount still higher in the next twelve months. However, we must not blind ourselves to the fact that the going will be getting rougher and that progress may be impeded unless we find means to circumvent the narrow defiles through which the trail winds. It may be well, therefore, to inspect some of these defiles, or bottlenecks, to use the word popularized in World War II, and see just how formidable they may prove.

Let us first consider our transport system, for no industrial economy can operate efficiently if there is not a smooth flow of raw materials to the factories and of finished goods away from them. At the present time we find that our railroad system is already strained by the demands put upon it. Oregon lumber men are complaining that inability to obtain enough freight cars is forcing them to cut back production and to refuse orders. In August a spokesman for Texas Rice Mills told the *Wall Street Journal* that the shortage of box cars was worse than during the war. An Illinois coal operator declared that lack of cars arriving at the mine-head was causing the loss of a day's output each week, and an executive of the California Packing Company claimed that the fruit pack was being jeopardized because the railroads were not delivering enough cans. More recently it was reported that iron and steel scrapyards were getting only one-third to one-half of the open-top freight cars they require to keep this vital material moving to the steel mills.

How is it that the carriers are so woefully unprepared to meet demands which must grow more intense as the defense program gets under way? Ever since the war ended there has been discussion of the need to enlarge and modernize the country's fleet of freight cars. Yet in mid-August an official of the American Association of Railroads admitted that there were only 1,600,000 serviceable cars available—50,000 less than a year earlier, 200,000 less than in August, 1945.

Urged on by the Office of Defense Transport, the railroads placed fairly large orders in 1946-48, but shortage of steel and other difficulties slowed down deliveries. Last year when steel became more plentiful for a time, there was a drop in car-loadings, and reequipment programs were reduced or dropped. Now the carriers are again raising their sights. Repair programs to bring 118,000 cars back in service are being speeded, and plans call for delivery of 122,000 new ones in the next two years, of which 100,000 have actually been ordered. But the adequacy of this program, which will barely keep pace with obsolescence, is being questioned. Produce men insist that their business alone calls for 50,000

new refrigerator cars, and James K. Knudsen, the Interstate Commerce Commissioner who has just been made responsible for defense transport, says that 150,000 cars of all types are needed by the end of 1952.

Whether this goal will prove attainable depends very much on success in coping with another bottleneck—steel. Fear of a steel famine, which has been persistently scoffed at by leaders of the industry, is now being justified. Operating at capacity, as they are at present, the furnaces can turn out 100,500,000 tons annually, or 11,600,000 more than on the eve of Pearl Harbor. But the industry cannot meet the demand on it even though defense orders as yet absorb not more than 3 per cent of output.

Plans for expansion, mostly drafted before the Korean war, had called for an increase in capacity to something over 106,000,000 tons by the end of 1952. Charles Sawyer, Secretary of Commerce, has just announced the steel industry's agreement to increase capacity to almost 110,000,000 tons. But other government officials still believe that defense and civilian needs will not be fully satisfied until the total reaches 112,000,000 tons and declare that in the event of a new world war 125,000,000 would not be excessive.

While the steel industry dismisses such talk as preposterous, its leaders admit that consumers are going to be severely squeezed in the near future. Benjamin F. Fairless, president of United States Steel, said recently that by the middle of next year defense may be absorbing 12,000,000 tons. Since a large proportion of this total would be accounted for by flat-rolled products, used also for automobiles and household appliances, supplies of such civilian goods are likely to be very much reduced. New steel-making and processing facilities cannot be built overnight, and they themselves require large quantities of steel. Consequently, however much energy and imagination the industry may show, this particular bottleneck, a begetter of many other bottlenecks, threatens to plague us for a long time. That makes essential a really thoroughgoing priority and allocation scheme on the lines of the Controlled Materials Plan of the last war to replace the recently promulgated voluntary scheme, which seems bound to collapse under the pressure of current demand.

The scarcity of other important metals, including copper, lead, zinc, and aluminum, also promises many headaches to defense planners and industrial enterprises. In the case of these materials civilian consumption may have to be cut back sharply, for, in addition to the large tonnages which will be taken by defense industries, there ought to be heavy purchases for stockpiling. Domestic supplies of all the four metals mentioned above are quite inadequate, and it seems absurd, therefore, that we should impede imports. Yet that is just what we are doing. Last July 1 the two-cent import duty on copper, suspended early in the last war, was reinstated. On aluminum, the price of which has just been pushed up to 18 cents a pound—it was 14 cents in 1942—there is a tariff of similar amount. The Commerce Department has just announced a system of licenses and quotas designed to check exports of the principal non-ferrous metals. Is it not paradoxical that simultaneously we should maintain barriers which serve to discourage imports of these and other vital raw materials and to bolster an already inflated price level?

# BOOKS and the ARTS

## CHRISTOPHER FRY'S POETIC DRAMA

BY R. A. SCOTT-JAMES

CHRISTOPHER FRY is not among the youngest of the younger English poets. Indeed, he was born in 1907, in the same year as W. H. Auden and Louis MacNeice, and therefore might well have been among the "modern poets" who were so young and so modern in the decade before the war. But he held his fire; and though no doubt he was writing verse—and published in "The Boy with a Cart" in 1939—it is only recently that he made a hit, a palpable hit; and now he has taken London and Edinburgh by storm as a poetic dramatist who can thrill an audience in a theater, while his books are pleasing that growing number of people who read contemporary poetry. Audiences who had given a welcome to T. S. Eliot's "The Cocktail Party" more perhaps by reason of Eliot's high prestige than from genuine liking for its somber argument turned with unassumed joy to Fry's "The Lady's Not for Burning," and the play "Ring Round the Moon," which he translated from the French of Jean Anouilh's "L'Invitation au Château," and yet again, "Venus Observed," a play in verse so interesting that it survived even its lamentable misinterpretation by Sir Lawrence Olivier.

It is a pity that New York made its first acquaintance with Christopher Fry through the short play, "A Phoenix Too Frequent," which is by no means a representative work. For the reader this play has many attractive qualities. It is fanciful, mischievous, with a happy combination of the charming and the grotesque, but is marred by an excess of the macabre at the end. I gather that the play was not a success in New York.\*

None the less I suggest with confidence that Christopher Fry is justly acclaimed as a poet and a playwright. Here at last we have poetic drama which the theater can take to itself and the reader

can delight in as poetry—plays pregnant with intellectual ideas, written in swift speakable verse which sometimes has the beauty of fine rhetoric or fantasy, sparkling with relevant wit, gay, tender, exuberant; occasionally the author has to pull himself up sharply to stop the overflow of conceits. In the molding of his verse we can see the obvious influence of T. S. Eliot—but Eliot with how great a difference!—how great may be measured by the fact that often he turns to parody of his master in which we can detect affection rather than malice; he is serious enough, but he will not be so serious as to disbelieve in the joy of life or run his head into a blank wall. Also, he has been absorbing the ideas and intellectual gymnastics of recent French writers—Sartre, probably, with critical amusement; Anouilh certainly (he has translated one of his plays); and he may even have shared some of Anouilh's tolerant affection for Alfred de Musset, in whose plays there is sometimes an intellectual fantasy to which we may see distant kinship in "The Lady Is Not for Burning" and "Venus Observed." Anouilh himself is nearer to the ground than Fry, and does not move habitually in the world of poetry; but when he breaks out into the lyrical or the passionately reflective we can see where it is that Fry has been stirred by him. Monsieur Henri, near the end of Anouilh's play "Eurydice," descants on the marks of childhood, youth, and maturity imprinted on the visage of old age in some such manner as does the Duke, less bitterly, indeed with gaiety, in Fry's "Venus Observed." And then, behind all other inspiring influences, and more potent, there is that of an older writer who has moved them all—Musset, Anouilh, Fry. This impassioned reflection mingled with puckish humor, this flow of poetic images which starts from the direct impact of life, this seriousness and these conceits, this tenderness for the

foibles of human nature, where do they spring from if not the fountainhead in Shakespeare? Prospero waves his wand; the Duke of Altair turns his telescope; and all the wonders of the stars are revealed presiding over the affairs of men.

Christopher Fry has many interests, many moods, and a capacity to excel in all that he touches. Perhaps his danger may lie in his facility. "The Firstborn," published in 1946 and performed at the Edinburgh Festival in 1948, stands alone in that all is subdued to the necessities of a tragic theme. The characteristic epigrams are not lacking, but where they are impish in the comedies they are ironical here—none better than Fry knows how to adjust the tone to his theme. In this play he does not get so quickly into his stride as usual, and the first act is not equal to what follows. The subject is the Biblical one of Pharaoh and Moses and the plagues of Egypt, and ends with the tragic death of young Rameses, Pharaoh's son, and the release of the Israelites. The character of Moses, a man who accepts the mystery he does not understand and the mission to which he is called, is drawn in splendid proportions, and Pharaoh himself is an intelligible human being. Aaron too is revealed in such words as

I've begun to believe that the reasonable  
Is an invention of man, altogether in  
opposition  
To the facts of creation, though I wish it  
hadn't  
Occurred to me.

But it is Moses who says ironically:

They love me from the bottom of their  
greed.

Give me the bad news

or optimistically:

Good has a singular strength  
Not known to evil

or in chiding impatience:

Shall we live in mystery and yet  
Conduct ourselves as though everything  
were known?

\*Three of Christopher Fry's plays have been published in this country by the Oxford University Press. They include "The Lady's Not for Burning," which will be produced on Broadway this season..

or resignedly at the end, when young Rameses dies:

I do not know why the necessity of God  
Should feed on grief; but it seems so.

We are in the presence of something new in literature in the beautiful foolery and fantastic allegory of "The Lady's Not for Burning" (produced 1948 and 1948). The time is the early fifteenth century, the scene in a medieval market town. The house of the Mayor is invaded by a soldier insistently demanding to be hanged, and the beautiful Jennet is accused of witchcraft. Margaret, the respectable mother of truculent sons, is driven to exclaim:

O peaceful and placid heaven,  
Are they both asking to be punished? Has death  
Become the fashionable way to live?  
Nothing would surprise me in their generation.

But Jennet has no longing for death.  
She replies:

Asking to be punished? Why, no, I have come

Here to have the protection of your laughter.

They accuse me of such a brainstorm of absurdities

That all my fear dissolves in the humor of it.

Jennet at the end entreats Thomas to postpone for fifty years his "curious passion for death," in a scene of felicitous love-making, none the less lovely because it is absurd.

While "The Lady's Not for Burning" may be taken as an allegory denying that denial of life which appears to emerge from the philosophy of Eliot, "Venus Observed" is life itself in its gayest aspect exhibited under Prospero's magic spell. It is the Duke who talks like Prospero, Christopher Fry who has imposed the spell. The dramatist is gay when he is most serious, and serious when he is gay. It begins with "an act of poetry" when the middle-aged Duke requests his frustrated son to choose him a wife from three handsome women,

All of them at some time implicated  
In the joyous routine of my life (I could scarcely

Put it more delicately). I wish to marry.  
Who am I, in heaven's name, to decide  
Which were my vintage years of love?

Realism and fancy mingle in the entries and exits of the "handsome women,"

Reedbeck (the Duke's unjust steward), the latter's daughter, Perpetua, who is Rosalind and Miranda in one, her brother Dominic, and a comic butler and footman. It is under a changing firmament darkened by an eclipse of the sun seen from his observatory that the Duke has arranged the scene; and in this way it is *sub specie aeternitatis* that the players behave. The Duke makes astronomy an excuse for philosophy and philosophy an excuse for love. He is tolerant of everything, including his own past and the conviction of well-doing with which his steward systematically robs him. He makes love urbanely to Perpetua, who, challenged to use longer sentences, runs into forty delicious lines, "wandering, Through shady vowels and over consonants," "with commas falling as airily as lime flowers," in the longest sentence ever used by any Beloved in any play, there being, it seems

no reason  
To draw to any conclusion so long as breath  
Shall last, except that breath  
Can't last much longer.

Which indeed leads the Duke to conclude:

How nature loves the incomplete. She knows  
If she drew a conclusion it would finish her.

The rhetoric in which the play abounds, sententious and fantastical, is never pushed beyond the point where it may be advantageously broken off with gentle ridicule. "Would you mind if I reminded you, father, What we were talking about when you started talking?" follows a paragraph in which the Duke has been soliloquizing like Hamlet. And again and again we feel that it is the philosophy of T. S. Eliot which is under the mild censure of parody.

We fall away into a future, and all  
The seven seas, and the milky way  
And morning, and evening, and hicock-alorum are in it.  
Nothing is with the past except the past.  
So you can make merry with the world,  
Rosabel.

My grateful thanks.

Can we not see there a rejoinder to the poetry of despair or renunciation? Christopher Fry is a poet using engaging words and apt images inviting us to

look at a world which can be as pleasing as our mood will permit; and that depends on us—or on him when he is writing verse for us. Why despair, when there is always the joy of reflecting, however inconclusively, on the ups and downs of life? There is always life itself, with all the questions it puts (answerable so cleverly), and the images, however evanescent, evoking beauty, and the fact of living, which asserts itself against any Spare-Time dubiety. Christopher Fry gaily, cleverly, triumphantly offers us not despair or renunciation, but life and poetry seasoned with so much philosophy as we may care to add.

"So you can make merry with the world, Rosabel."

### Franklin's Sister Jane

JANE MECOM, FRANKLIN'S FAVORITE SISTER. By Carl Van Doren. The Viking Press. \$4.

THE daughter of a tallow chandler, the wife of an ailing saddler, the mother of twelve children, of whom two went mad and all but one died before her; the landlady of a modest boarding-house; at times, a milliner in a very small way: could there be a more unpromising subject for a full-length biography? But "the humble truth" of this life is not the whole truth. Jane Mecom was Benjamin Franklin's youngest and favorite sister. They met but seldom—a "decennial visit" was his rule—and never for long, but their love deepened as the circle of their own generation contracted. Carl Van Doren had published their correspondence; in this his last book he gave us a minute, sedate, and loving portrait of a very spirited woman. She does occupy the center of the stage, although Benjamin Franklin is never absent from these pages, as he was ever present in her thought. She is not extinguished in the effulgence of his career; to the end she had a vigorous life of her own.

I can quite understand Carl Van Doren's increasing absorption in the Revolutionary era. In our confusion we yearn for that age as a vanished Utopia or a lost inheritance. What an abyss between the free thought of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, their smiling wisdom, their serene courage, their quiet generosity, and the toughness, the hys-

teria, the meanness which are our ideals today! The quality was in the light of the century rather than in exceptional personalities. It was felt in the architecture and decoration of the time; and it would be difficult to conceive of people born in more radically different social circumstances than the greatest of the founders. Although Josiah Franklin, Benjamin's father, was a self-respecting and honored member of the community, he and his family lived in conditions which in our day would hardly be tolerated in the worst slums. (Two bedrooms upstairs had to serve as dormitories for the whole tribe—ten sons and seven daughters. Some died young, but Benjamin remembered thirteen brothers and sisters at table.) Water supply and sanitation were of the most primitive kind. This we might do well to remember when we are tempted to rate civilizations according to their plumbing.

Franklin, at one time the most admired, the most revered man in the world, the idol of sophisticated Paris, never turned his back on his lowly origin. He did not boast about it—the most obvious trick of the parvenu with an inferiority complex. He accepted the facts of his life with cheerful equanimity. There is no trace of condescension in his letters to Jane, no blind hero-worship in hers. She loved him and admired him but never indulged in the fulsome adulation he received from other quarters, an adulation that strained although it did not impair his sanity and his sense of humor. Jane and Benjamin were truly sister and brother. In his scientific researches she could not follow him, but she understood his political activities and relished to the full his homely wit and wisdom. He never had a better public. The children of a craftsman, both had a turn for the practical. It is touching to find Franklin proud, even at Versailles, of the family's great achievement—the manufacture of crown soap. Jane was the last to know the original recipe and the tricks of the trade; and Franklin gave samples of her skill to the aristocrats, bankers, and philosophers with whom he consorted in Paris.

The striking likeness, intellectual and moral, between brother and sister raises many problems deeper than any found in Marx or perhaps in Freud. What mysterious "gene" made Benjamin

unique, not only within his family but among his contemporaries? On the other hand, are not the very heights of his genius inseparable from the common endowment of his kin and of his folk? Is he not "the common man" purified and intensified?

My sole objection to Carl Van Doren's book, destined to the general reader, is that it suffers from an excess of scholarly austerity. Not that I craved for a romanced biography, or a psychological interpretation, or, least of all, for splashes of sentiment. But the bare and scanty facts of Jane Mecom's life have to stand out on the background of American life in the late eighteenth century. This general picture Carl Van Doren omitted altogether: he was himself so familiar with it that he quietly took it for granted. For the learned, Jane's life adds a touch of precision to the well-known picture of her Boston; for the less learned, and among them the present reviewer, Boston is indispensable to a full understanding of Jane. As one of the people, I regret that this excellent book is not a trifle more "popular."

ALBERT GUÉRARD

### Hawks and Men

*THE WATCHFUL GODS AND OTHER STORIES.* By Walter Van Tilburg Clark. Random House. \$2.75.

MR. CLARK appears in this collection of his short stories as a sensitive and cultivated writer, as much at home with knowledgeable outdoor men and their natural world as with intellectuals and academicians whose connection to the earth on which they live is only that of a man to his city apartment.

This unlikely but graceful combination seems to be responsible for a prose style that is wiry, masculine, and mature, and that has produced almost by its own evocative power—without the aid of complex structuring—a number of interesting stories, and one at least that is really superb. The Wind and the Snow of Winter brings a lonely and addled old prospector to the terrible realization of his own senility, as he plods slowly across the bleak Western landscape with the dreamlike cinematic movement of the cowboys in Mr. Clark's fine first novel, "The Ox-Bow Incident." Indeed, the prospector of this story, in love with his desolate work but



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betrayed at the end by his memories, is reminiscent of no one so much as the late Walter Huston in "Treasure of Sierra Madre."

But this is the high point of Mr. Clark's collection. When he attempts to utilize his remarkable feeling for the quality of man's relation to the natural elements—a matter of concern to few important American writers other than Faulkner—in order to assert a philosophical generalization, he is merely banal, as in *Why Don't You Look Where You're Going?* which counterposes the effete travelers on a luxury steamship to a hero crossing the ocean alone in a small boat. And in *The Portable Phonograph*, in which a group of cave-dwelling survivors of War Number Three (or Four) attempt to warm their hearts with the memories of an extinct culture preserved in a few phonograph records, Mr. Clark has recourse to a snapper, or punch line, in the final sentence in order to drive home his point—an unnecessary device if the survivors had been individuals instead of stereotypes selected to reflect Mr. Clark's attitude.

It is interesting to observe how small are the returns on his skilful evocations of the sea, the sand, the plants, and the animals when they are invested in a somewhat longer work such as the title story, a hitherto unpublished novella which concludes the book. In this story

a boy is given a twenty-two rifle for his twelfth birthday. He shoots a little rabbit, is tortured with remorse, and finally buries his first prize. The minute descriptions, not only of the boy's mental processes but of his physical surroundings, begin by trying our patience and end by boring us, and we are left with the feeling that Mr. Clark has expended 115 pages on the exploration of a theme which might better have been encompassed in 15, if he had been under the compulsion to adapt this story, like the others in the collection, to the exigencies of magazine fiction.

The difficulty is not that Mr. Clark is too much preoccupied with man's relation to the forces of nature but rather that he is apparently so little interested in the relations that exist between men, except in those limited areas where people have differing conceptions of their connection with the natural world—as in the stories *The Rapids*, *The Buck in the Hills*, and *The Fish Who Could Close His Eyes*.

Surely a writer is entitled to indulge himself with a glittering tour de force like *Hook*, which describes the life cycle of a hawk with the cold brilliance of a documentary nature film, and which leaves us with much the same feelings of awe and admiration for the skill and patience of the seeing eye. But when in 306 pages of short stories perhaps only 15 contain any dialogue, aside

from people talking to animals, one must inevitably consider the extent of their relevance to the human situation, and one must wonder whether the writer's horizons are not bounded on the one hand by the hawk and on the other by the boy with the twenty-two.

HARVEY SWADOS

## Democracy's Taboo

*VARIETIES OF DELINQUENT YOUTH.* By William H. Sheldon, with the Collaboration of Emil M. Hartl and Eugene McDermott. Harper and Brothers. \$8.

IN HIS first book, "Psychology and the Promethean Will," written in his late twenties, Dr. Sheldon attacked the most difficult problem that a scientist can attack, the most unmeasurable of quantities—value itself. In his fourth and latest book, written as he approached fifty, he continues a project so ambitious, so tenderly and thoughtfully conceived, so energetically executed, so peculiarly American that it is no wonder that a place has been claimed for him as the most interesting descendant in the line of William James. If his first volume seemed closer to that feeling-life which must accompany all enduring examinations of value, if in his last volume his style seems somewhat coarsened by the overlay of scientific habits upon an unmistakably artistic temperament, it may be well to remember that he has taken upon himself the traditionally heroic—and messy—task of descending into an underworld.

On its surface, "Varieties of Delinquent Youth" is an exceptionally well-documented, well-illustrated study of two hundred bad boys in Boston. It gives the significant data about them with remarkable thoroughness and in a new kind of scientific shorthand. Minor examples of this are "i," for skin texture, which is related to sensibility, and "AMI" for a quality frequently exploited by delinquents, appeal to the maternal instinct. The book applies the "constitutional psychology" methods that were developed by Kretschmer and others and later refined by Sheldon in his "Varieties of Human Physique" and "Varieties of Temperament." These methods stress subtle and often unnoticed relationships between body-

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# SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

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structure and temperament and psychiatry. Thus *all* of the criminal types under study turned out to have a similar body-structure. Sheldon says of his procedure that it "reverses that of psychoanalysis, in which the analyst starts with conscious reactions and proceeds toward the 'unconscious.' By the unconscious I *think* psychoanalysts mean the body, however shocking the thought may be to psychoanalysts. The body is really an objectification, a tangible record, of the most long-standing and deeply established habits that have been laid down during a succession of generations."

This thesis, which in actual case histories he balances with exceptional gifts of common sense, humor, compassion, and insight, leads to more subtle measurements and more revealing statistics than I have found anywhere on the subject of delinquency. Discontented with the facile "slums-breed-crime-and-a-better-economy-will-eliminate-slums" theory that has been enough for so many of us, especially those satisfied with leftist opiates, Sheldon pushes into the disturbing biological factors that create not only slums but the slum mentality. Al-

most all of the two hundred delinquents, he finds, for example, came from delinquent parents; a high percentage of them had grossly fat mothers; and another high percentage suffered from a "medical insufficiency" that had been accumulating for generations.

But he is not content with the data collected on the specific subject of delinquency. In the belief that an exhaustive study of it may throw light on even weightier human problems, he employs his present findings as a basis for speculation on such matters as cancer, psychoanalysis, Christian theology, and war. "Delinquency," he says, "may reside in the cellular morphogenotype," and develops some highly suggestive ideas on the relationship between cellular misbehavior in the bad boy and in the cancer patient.

These thoughts carry professional weight, since as director of the Constitutional Clinic Dr. Sheldon has been one of the chief continuators of the work of the famous Dr. George Draper in predicting the kinds of disease to which each type of flesh is heir. On the over-environmental approach of the Freud-

ians he writes: "So long as the psychoanalytic priesthood holds its power and dominates the mentality of the social-work profession . . . it will be almost impossible to get at the problem of delinquency. For whatever else may be true of the delinquency I saw in Boston, it is mainly in the germ plasm." He criticizes Freudianism for encouraging a socially destructive "Dionysian" or anti-inhibitory attitude, and Christian theology for encouraging hebephrenia, or avoidance of the psychological tensions that make for maturity. Of war he writes: "We have explosively quadrupled the load of human gut and soma on a planet that was already groaning with that commodity. Human life has thus been so cheapened and so inflated that in many quarters of the earth it already has a negative value. That is to say, it is as ready for war as steam is ready to escape from an overheated boiler." He says that for the establishment of a sound humanistic culture a rapprochement between medicine and religion is needed, and only a sound psychology can bring it about.

But these ideas give the merest sil-

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houette of the speculative section of the book, the chief feature of which, perhaps, is that the author boldly attacks the greatest taboo of modern democracy—the forbidden subject of heredity. While the Soviet Union officially sponsors illiterate obscurantism on this subject, an American scientist has addressed to it not only his own energies but those of the colleagues who surround him. He is opening, of course, a case of political dynamite. Instead of being congratulated for using our freedom wisely—to investigate the dark forces that prevent a healthy rebirth of humanism—the chances are that his work will be, wherever possible, misunderstood or ignored. We are under a great strain already, and it is unpleasant to be forced to realize that the growth of medical skill, the termination of natural methods of weeding out our human stock, has meant the sudden population of the earth with vast quantities of "poor protoplasm poorly put together" that help to create delinquency, war, and nihilism.

Fortunately, despite the manifest political implications of his work, Sheldon is not in politics. He is at liberty to go on with his research, undeflected by demagoguery, and promises several new volumes. Those of us who are seriously interested in our own survival will know how to find time to read them.

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## Books in Brief

**SURVIVAL: THE SALVAGE AND PROTECTION OF ART.** By James J. Rorimer, in Collaboration with Gilbert Rabin. Abelard Press. \$4. From the invasion of Normandy until six months after the end of the war with Germany, Mr. Rorimer, who is curator of medieval art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and director of the Cloisters, led a hectic and fascinating existence as a "monuments officer." In Normandy, Paris, across France and Germany, and even to Berchtesgaden, he did what he could to keep bulldozers out of wrecked masterpieces, shore up ruins, remove priceless works of art from the offices of United States generals, place qualified custodians over collections in ruined towns, supply transportation and materials for salvage, follow the traces of Nazi looting operations, uncover caches in Germany, and interrogate Nazi art personnel. There were, of course, others engaged in this work, but they were pitifully few. It is estimated that during 1944 in one major area each man visited 125 sites and 60 towns each month. The fortunes of war gave Rorimer a unique opportunity. In the areas to which he was assigned he was in the vanguard of qualified personnel. His arrivals on the scene were almost invariably in the nick of time. All of these activities he has set down in a carefully documented book of adventure. Its net impact is an argument for civilization.

S. L. F., JR.

**DR. JOHNSON'S DEAR MISTRESS.** By Winifred Carter. Philosophical Library. \$3. The story of Johnson, Mrs. Thrale, and the singer Piozzi is a natural for the fictionalizing biographer. To write additional dialogue for Johnson, Boswell, Goldsmith, *et al.* is quite an undertaking, and if Mrs. Carter isn't quite up to it at least she acquits herself honorably.

**THE NEUROLOGIST'S POINT OF VIEW.** By I. S. Wechsler, M. D., A. A. Wyn. \$3. Wechsler's volume offers a rather mature and lively discussion of a variety of subjects, ranging from the problem of anti-Semitism to the history of neurology. His appraisal of the psychoanalytic movement is especially help-

ful, coming as it does from a sympathetic yet critical observer. The wide scope of the author's interests and his capacity for the well-turned phrase make this an easy volume to sample.

**SHIRAZ PAINTING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.** By Grace Dunham Guest. Freer Gallery of Art. Oriental Studies, No. 4. Smithsonian Institution. An exhaustive study of Persian manuscript illuminations in the collections of the Freer Gallery. The illustrations are superb, but the text is for specialists only. Studies like these represent the triumph of science over the humanities.

**THE SAN FRANCISCO STAGE. A HISTORY.** By Edmond M. Gagey. Columbia University Press. \$3.50. Probably the most complete account of the subject so far. Using materials compiled some years ago by WPA workers, the author steers a middle course between the methods of the annalist and those of the anecdotist. There are lots of facts and some colorful incidents.

## Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

**WOLCOTT GIBBS** of the *New Yorker* has made a play out of the amusing Fire Island sketches he wrote for that magazine a year or so ago, and the play opened last week under the best of auspices (Cort Theater). It was staged by Burgess Meredith and is acted by a cast which includes Richard Whorf, Nancy Kelly, Anthony Ross, and Paula Laurence. It got glowing notices from most of the drama reviewers about town and will undoubtedly have a long run.

I went to "Season in the Sun" with the liveliest expectations. I found those amusing lines of Mr. Gibbs's amusing still, the production pretty, and the acting excellent. But I was forced to a conclusion similar to that of the small boy in the story of the emperor's new clothes. Mr. Gibbs has no play on; moreover, in stretching his sketches to fill an evening the dean of *New Yorker* sophisticates exposes shallows of naivete on the one hand and presumption on

the other that are rather embarrassing to one who has taken delight in Mr. Gibbs's wit. I wish he had let the sketches be.

It is an inferior kind of sophistication which assumes that sophistication consists in refusing to take serious things seriously; and this is the kind that is burying its head in the sand at the Cort Theater. It is also self-defeating. Mr. Gibbs's apparent lack of awe for the medium of the theater has led him to present a play which is not a play; and in the piece itself the condescension with which he depicts a man who wants to stop doing humorous paragraphs for a magazine and write a serious book not only figures, after the first five minutes, as a lifeless and sterile convention but, what is really crucial, also deprives the play of anything resembling a theme or a dramatic situation. As a result there is no suspense and no development. The witty lines are forced to carry too much of the burden and come to seem a little strained. As for the filling in, or padding out, which was necessary to give the piece length, it is surprisingly uninventive—and unsophisticated as well.

Richard Whorf is funny and touching as the writer who wants to go serious. He really deserves more sympathy from Mr. Gibbs (and I suspect he gets it when nobody is listening). The character of the editor is the best realized of the lot and played with restraint and point by Anthony Ross. Paula Laurence has little to work with in the part of Molly Burden, but like the good trouser she is, she does the best she can. And Eddie Mayehoff's acting has more to do with bringing the Princeton man to life than the lines he speaks. In fact, the play is held up and kept going because everyone in the cast is so intent on fulfilling his assignment—and because the audience is so willing.

As I have already indicated, most of the newspaper reviewers were willing too, and full of praises, but I don't suppose for one moment that Mr. Gibbs will take *them* seriously.

"Affairs of State" (Royale Theater) is a variation on the routine which Shaw had so much fun with in "Pygmalion." "Born Yesterday" was another. The present play is the work of a Frenchman, Louis Verneuil, and the first act especially is rich in that effect of con-

descension which results when a writer in one language sets himself to produce a comedy in another. But M. Verneuil obviously doesn't mean it that way. The situation has been accurately described as preposterous, and the attempt, at the beginning, to disguise Celeste Holm as a mousy, unattractive school teacher from Minnesota is notably unsuccessful. Some of the jokes are awfully stale and flat—do they seem fresh and sparkling to M. Verneuil?—and one has only to imagine the play acted by a high-school dramatic society to see how contrived and creaking it is. But the cast as a whole is sufficiently good to keep it afloat, and Celeste Holm in particular is so pretty and charming—and skilful against odds—that one wouldn't dream of walking out on her.

For acting so unobtrusively good that you react to it as acting only after the play is over, go to see Flora Robson in "Black Chiffon" (Forty-eighth Street Theater). It is the case history of a mother who, when her son is about to be married, lifts a black-chiffon night-dress from a counter in a store and is caught. The situation is sound, from the psychological point of view, and the statement of it in the first act is convincing. So is the interview between the mother and the doctor in Act Two—and that is saying a good deal. But the interest of these two acts is clinical rather than dramatic; and the last act, in which the attempt is made to shift from the clinical to the dramatic, falls terribly flat.

[Joseph Wood Krutch, *The Nation's* regular drama critic, is on leave for one year. Margaret Marshall will review plays during his absence.]

## FACTS ON FILM

BY MARY ANNE GUITAR

WITH the opening of "The Titan" last spring, the old illustrated art lecture was definitely superseded by a documentary treatment of the artist, his times, his work. Subtitled *The Story of Michelangelo*, "The Titan" attempted a dynamic presentation of Michelangelo's art through cutting, editing, and the addition of other Renaissance art. Without superb photography of paintings and sculpture to work with—a German art film was the source—such fancy

playing around with cinematic techniques might have seemed pretentious. Fortunately, the producers could count on some remarkable plastic photography for the core of the film.

Sometimes the documentary technique got in the way of the art and created the feeling that you were craning your neck in a gallery to get a good look at a picture. For the most part, however, "The Titan" was a fine example of a static form. It has given rise to a number of similar films and undoubtedly set a trend in art films. Not available as yet in 16 mm., it is being distributed nationally as a feature film after a successful New York run.

A more modest attempt at creating the feeling of an era and the portrait of an artist by photographing his work and then editing it into a story line is "The Life of Christ." The simple New Testament story is told through the woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer. The makers of the film allowed their camera to roam at will over the woodcuts, selecting details, composing new visual effects, contrasting and comparing faces of men and angels. The black-and-white film texture is well-suited to Dürer's strong, sometimes crude lines. A remarkably restrained and clear introduction explains Dürer's conflict as a man

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of religion and man of science. The bulk of the narration is text from the New Testament. There is nothing contrived or theatrical about this film. It never tries too hard, as "The Titan" did occasionally, to dominate the art itself. "The Life of Christ" runs sixteen minutes, costs \$75, and rents for \$5. It is obtainable from Athena Films, 165 West Forty-sixth Street, New York.

This trend in art films should make them more dramatic and if successful integrate art with the texture of its time. There is some danger that the technique may get out of hand and that the art will lose out. It is necessary to guard against the temptation to top the master and manipulate the material for super-colossal effects. When this happens the film becomes precious and designed for a small audience sufficiently "aware" to appreciate editing virtuosity.

Another new art film using documentary technique deals with a living artist. "Grandma Moses" presents a charming portrait of the artist as she lives and works, plus some delightful photographs of her paintings. This approach to artists who are still alive gives their work greater meaning for the casual student and the layman. An A. F. Film (1600 Broadway, New York City), "Grandma Moses" runs twenty-three minutes, rents for \$20, and sells for \$200.

Among other A. F. films are "Henry Moore," "Paintings and Plastics," "Understanding Children's Drawings," "French Tapestries Visit America," "Art Survives the times," "Aubusson Tapestries"—all of high quality. A catalogue is available on request. Another of their recent releases is "Franklin Watkins," which shows the artist at work on a portrait from blank canvas to finished job. This runs thirty minutes, rents for \$15, and sells for \$150.

The forthcoming "Guernica," a film on Picasso's work, should mark another milestone in the evolution of art films and increase their admirers by an appreciable figure. Whatever the limitations of this type of documentary, it has taken art out of dead storage in museums and presented it in living form.

## Music

B. H.  
HAGGIN

MY READING here and there in the Barzun "Berlioz" has been a process of, say, encountering with surprise, on p. 12, the name of Herbert Weinstock among those of the writers of the "new Berlioz criticism" of the last twenty-five years, of looking in the index, turning to the statement of Weinstock quoted on p. 19, being directed by the footnote "1308, art. Berlioz" to the bibliography, and discovering there that the "art. Berlioz" is the paragraph introducing the Berlioz recordings in the 1942 Gramophone Shop Encyclopedia—this being as far as I know the total Weinstock contribution to the "new Berlioz criticism."

This kind of thing arouses incredulous amazement right from the start. One is dumbfounded when the "thoughtful critic" (he said something good about Berlioz) on the first page turns out to be Olin Downes; when someone with as little critical gift and experience as Mark Schubart is, on p. 9, an "experienced practitioner" who "has declared that nothing too harsh can be said against music criticism as we find it" (critics have said bad things about Berlioz); when Schubart's opinion is "confirmed at the two recent conferences where music criticism was treated as an element of general culture" (the confirmation at the Harvard Symposium was the address by Professor Lang which Henry David Aiken, in his *Nation* review of the proceedings, correctly described as "a confused and vindictive diatribe" and an example of "the failure to distinguish between understanding of music and knowledge about music"—concerning which Barzun himself once pointed out that the "secret of talking about music is to describe [it] . . . as something which hits our senses and is experienced," and that "any other treatment, from the pseudo-poetical to the . . . historico-academic, is beside the point." But even more remarkable are Barzun's explicit references to Lang: an acknowledgement of indebtedness for conversations, a mention of the articles on Wagner, but complete silence about the diatribes against Berlioz).

Then there is that list of writers of the "new Berlioz criticism"—an indiscriminate jumble of anybody and everybody, including some nobodies, who has written anything favorable about Berlioz, whether the large-scale writing of men like Newman, Turner, and Wotton, or the occasional review of men like myself, or the mere paragraph in a record encyclopedia. It includes Paul Rosenfeld—his contribution being the essay in "Musical Portraits"; and further investigation turns up a Barzun statement about the new Berlioz criticism in this country (II, 311) which has "Mr. B. H. Haggin taking up the tradition which Paul Rosenfeld had inaugurated amid general indifference in the previous decade." It sounds very grand; but it happened that way only in the Barzun world of graciously grandiose inventions which collapse in absurdity: in the real world Rosenfeld's essay did not initiate the cohesive or continuous Berlioz criticism that was not written in the twenties and that I did not take off from in the thirties.

Even peripheral reading, then, reveals the spinning of fancy invention in this work of ostentatious scholarship. And so it isn't surprising that the scholarship itself is sometimes flawed. One of Barzun's major lines of thought is to demonstrate that after 1830 "the one seminal mind was Berlioz," and in particular how much was derived from him by Wagner who "emerged in the seventies" (all characteristically excessive and grossly inaccurate: Wagner had "emerged" even before "Tannhäuser" in 1845; and neither in his music nor in anyone else's does one hear the very language and thought of Berlioz in the way one hears Wagner's in most of the music after his). In support of his contention Barzun quotes from a 1924 article on Berlioz and Wagner by Gerald Abraham, and ignores Abraham's later estimate of their relation in his book "A Hundred Years of Music" (1938, 1949). "In Wagner's earlier operas," says Abraham now, "a style originally derived from Beethoven and Weber . . . Marschner, Spontini and Bellini, with harmonic hints probably from Chopin and Spohr, and orchestral ones (with a few melodic ones as well) from Berlioz, had been gradually forged by the force of his genius into the perfectly original medium of . . . 'Lohengrin.'" And ac-

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counting for the radical changes in this medium in the later Wagner music dramas, Abraham mentions only the influence of Beethoven's Quartet Opus 131 on rhythm and structure, of Liszt on harmony.

Nor is it because Barzun doesn't know of the Abraham book. In the course of a very fancy discussion of Berlioz's elevated aim in the *Symphonie Fantastique*—which, says Barzun, was to produce not a piece of program music but, like Beethoven, "a large-scale piece which should be *une oeuvre*—One Work"—i.e., a unified musical work—Barzun quotes from Abraham's book the statement that "for the first movement. . . . Berlioz cast his 'reveries and passions' in the shape of a perfectly comprehensible modification of classical first movement form," but doesn't mention Abraham's preceding statement that Berlioz "had three or four orchestral pieces, from the derelict 'Faust' ballet of 1828 and the 'Francs Juges' opera, on his hands; cast about for some central literary idea to bind them together; and, having found it, composed the first movement and revised and rearranged the remainder to fit into the scheme. . . . One's first reflection is that Beethoven would never have thought of sticking several unrelated pieces together and calling them a symphony. . . ."

But the most revealing of the astonishing things I have encountered in the book is the footnote (I, 324) in which, having described *his* way of correcting an error in the score of "Romeo and Juliet," Barzun reports Toscanini's different way, which Toscanini once explained to him "during a conversation"—Barzun must let the world know—"sought by him [Toscanini]." What produced that, produced the excesses described by Mr. Garis and myself.

### CONTRIBUTORS

R. A. SCOTT-JAMES was formerly editor of the London *Mercury* and now edits *Britain Today*.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor emeritus of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of several books.

HARVEY SWADOS has published short stories in the little magazines. He writes reviews for the *New York Post* and has contributed to the *Progressive* and the *Menorah Journal*.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### Let Us Tell the Facts!

*Dear Sirs:* Truman's fireside speech, I thought, sounded good and pretty effective. But there remains an Al Smithian "let's-look-at-the-record" approach to the propaganda war which I think Uncle Sam is woefully missing. Here are some of the thoughts that run through my mind.

For five years the U. S. S. R. has been following the Hitler precept—namely, tell big enough lies often and loudly enough and the world will believe them. Let us begin at long last to smash the lies. What are they? The U. S. S. R. is the great peace-loving nation; the U. S. A. is the warmonger, the imperialist, the aggressor. Let's tackle these lies by looking at the record. Begin with World War I.

Did the United States, which won that war and vanquished the Kaiser, ask for or obtain territory? Not a square inch. Instead we poured out billions of treasure in loans never repaid.

Turn to World War II. Did we not come to the rescue of the U. S. S. R. with lend-lease? Ten billions of our treasure in the form of guns, planes, food, ammunition, tanks, and the like went to the Soviet Union. And what of our citizens? Russian War Relief brought hundreds of shiploads of food, clothing, and medicaments to the people of Russia, as the voluntary gift of the people of the United States. Not a loan but a free-will hundred-million-dollar outright gift, just as in 1921 we saved 20,000,000 famine-stricken Russians from starvation. Then we sent our own personnel to Russia at its request. We—who were we? We were the American Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., Knights of Columbus, Quakers, Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and so on, all operating under the American Relief Administration. I know about this because I represented the Joint Distribution Committee in this work, to which the J. D. C. contributed \$5,000,000.

Let's look at the record a little farther. What has become of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria? They were independent nations. Are they independent now? The Kremlin has swallowed them hook, line, and sinker. And the swallowing is still going on in Manchuria.

Meanwhile, what of the United States? We have possession of a few coral islands in the Pacific, which are supposed to serve as bastions of defense against another Pearl Harbor. We occupy with inadequate forces a part of Germany. We want to get out of that country but dare not lest the Russians march in. Imperialists? Did we keep the Philippines or have we freed that nation? Have we seized Panama? Can you imagine the U. S. S. R. keeping hands off a tiny state like Panama which straddles the waterway from the Atlantic to the Pacific?

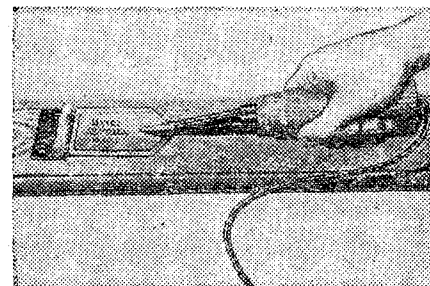
These are a few of the facts I think we should be telling the peoples of the world.

JAMES N. ROSENBERG  
Elizabethtown, N. Y., September 20

### Denmark and Communism

*Dear Sirs:* Burrowing through newspapers and even the *Congressional Record*, as it is my daily duty to do, it strikes me that the hysteria-mongering national legislators might profit by taking a look at the Communist situation in Denmark. The Danes do not make much fuss about the Communists—despite the country's relatively close proximity to Soviet Russia; they simply permit the Communist movement to perish for lack of nutrition.

In the recent parliamentary election the Communists mustered 94,495 votes and obtained 7 seats in the Parliament.



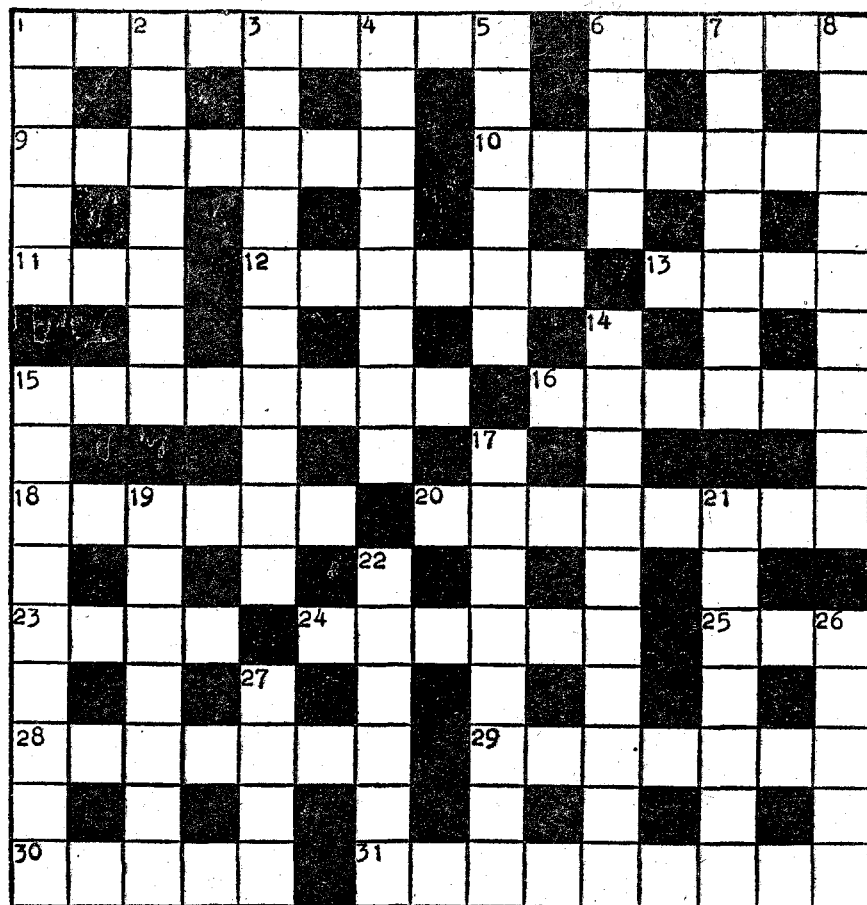
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# Crossword Puzzle No. 382

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

- 1 and 6. Sounds like a match, in part or in whole. (6, 3, 5)  
 9 Philosopher—a paragon of honesty, and fat, too!  
 10 See 15.  
 11 See 25.  
 12 Blessed way to behave to come into the world.  
 13 and 21 down. Fennel-flower which suggests a somewhat dampened ardor. (4-2-1-4)  
 15, 20, 25, 24, 10. Where they tripped on the sidewalk. (4, 4, 4, 4, 3, 5, 3, 4)  
 16 Growths an informer cut back.  
 20 Decapitated Southern sympathizer.  
 28 See 15.  
 23 It's the truth, if she goes to the city.  
 24 and 25. See 15.  
 25 and 11. None is safe with such an effort. (3-3)  
 28 We associate Arnold with this Senator.  
 29 The type that's confused with a tear-jerker around.  
 30 and 4 down. Like a well-prepared Roosevelt rider? (5-3-5)  
 31 Went back and picked up Bill for another round?

## DOWN

- 1 Well-remembered from state to state.  
 2 Brother of the girl who looked well in black.

- 3 Narrow escapes from neighborly young ladies. (4, 6)  
 4 See 30.  
 5 Incredible rejoinder for those who want to produce Rossini's work? (2, 4)  
 6 Speak with confidence of the girl of 23.  
 7 The science of mountains.  
 8 The state of Mr. Williams, perhaps.  
 14 Signed on for one period after another. (6, 4)  
 15 Good at digging up the dirt.  
 17 Dramatically associated with a version of Arrowsmith.  
 19 A sort of pun is made about Harvey's insides.  
 21 See 13.  
 22 Helpful when duties are pressing.  
 26 Summarized with 11 before, overruled with 11 following.  
 27 Writer who might make money the hard way.

—□—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 381  
 ACROSS:—1 MASS PRODUCTION; 8 XYLOPHONISTS; 10 DECLENSION; 11 TALC; 13 BUNICE; 14 UMBRELLA; 16 ABERRANT; 17 ESCORT; 19 HEEL; 20 TELEVISION; 22 PARTHIAN SHOT; 23 EVENING DRESSES.  
 DOWN:—1 MIXED METAPHORS; 2 SELF-CENTERED; 3 PEPPERCORN; 4 OWOSSO; 5 UNIFORMS; 6 TOTS; 7 PROCRASTINATES; 9 NAIL POLISHES; 12 PRESCIENCE; 15 UNBEATEN; 18 BELIED; 21 VAIN.

The significance of this derives from the fact that in 1947 the party cast 141,094 votes and obtained 9 seats. Thus, without any approach to all the hullabaloo we witness in the United States, the Communists suffered a pretty severe setback.

There is something else. In Denmark, with a population of around 4,000,000 and some 94,000 or 95,000 vote-casting Communists, there is at the present time no witch-hunt. In the United States, with a population of approximately 150,000,000 and, according to the FBI and other supposedly well-informed sources, around 50,000—or is it 54,000?—Communists, look at what goes on.

Perhaps you will recall that not so many months ago the famous American strategist, the publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, after a one-day stay on a sick-bed in a hospital room in Copenhagen, came to the definite and widely published conclusion that "Denmark is a Communist country because all the newspapers are Communist"!

Well, the Swedes have a word for it: *Refleksjonarne gör sig själva*—which means: "Comments form themselves."

GEORG STRANDVOLD

Decorah, Iowa, September 19

## Reaction in Africa

Dear Sirs: In a recent letter to *The Nation* I stated that a return of Italian rule to Somaliland would strengthen the rise of reaction in Africa, which is rightly causing much anxiety at the present time. Striking confirmation of this opinion has reached me from Somaliland. Correspondence from British sources, from Somalis in Somaliland, and from Somalis who have escaped to Ethiopia reveals that the promise against political discrimination given by Mr. Tarchiani at the United Nations on behalf of the Italian government has not been honored and that a ruthless persecution of the members of the Somali Youth League who opposed Italian trusteeship is under way. In the first forty-seven days after the British handed over control to the Italians more than three hundred Somali Youth League members had been thrown into prison. All the Somali Youth League branches in the Upper Juba have been closed. Senior police officers employed by the British have been dismissed or imprisoned. The trials are in secret.

Methods similar to those of Fascism in Italy are in full swing. Somali quislings, ex-soldiers who were induced to

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support the return of Italy on promise of pay for each of the years of Italy's absence from the territory, are being armed to attack those who oppose Italian trusteeship, just as the Fascist blackshirt squads were armed from the state arsenals of Italy to make war on the trade unions and Socialist organizations. At Baidoa members of the Somali Youth League were attacked with hand grenades bearing the inscription, "Esercito Italiano, 1950," a piece of evidence which cannot be discounted.

The Trusteeship Agreement directs that nationals of all members of the United Nations shall have the same liberty of trade, freedom of movement, and so forth in the trusteeship territory as the Italians. Nevertheless, passengers on British planes who stop at Mogadishu on their way to other territories are kept in a small waiting-room and not allowed to enter the town. All applicants for admission to the airport are screened by the police and are rigidly prevented from communicating with the passengers thus interned.

License requirements make it impossible to import or export to any country except through Italy. British firms in the territory, including one particularly well known, it is alleged, are finding it best to withdraw.

The appointment of General Nasi as administrator of the colony was prevented by an outcry in the Italian Parliament and the reading in the Chamber of Deputies of his war-time dispatches, revealing the atrocities he had perpetrated in East Africa during the Fascist regime. Nevertheless, the administration is manned by "old colonials" who served under Fascism.

A Somali refugee, Mohamud Mohamed Faccia, writes from Ethiopia, "Our people have been intrusted by the United Nations to the care of Italy, the master-trainer, to be trained for self-government in ten years of trusteeship. Their training consists of rotting in Mogadishu Central Prison, while the Italians who administer the territory employ Arabs if they require any local assistance. We are under the same old Fascist tyranny as before."

The Draft Trusteeship Agreement will shortly come before the General Assembly of the United Nations for ratification or rejection. It is obvious that the confidence in the "New Italy" displayed by the United Kingdom and other governments last year was misplaced. Is it not possible to induce the General Assembly to reverse the decision?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST  
Woodford Green, England,  
September 15

## Unorthodox

Dear Sirs: *The Nation* seems to be one of the few publications which have not completely lost their head over the Korean war. Perhaps you will give space to an unorthodox thought on the subject.

The United Nations Commission has come out with a report saying that the North Korean government's offer of mediation before the invasion was a sham. But that is the first news that there was an offer to mediate. It is almost the first news that there were differences which required mediation. (I believe there had been a brief report that the North Koreans complained that the South Koreans had assaulted their ambassadors.)

If the negotiations which preceded the war had revealed the merits of the South Korean cause, I am sure we should have heard about them—for instance, if the North Koreans had made some obviously outrageous demands. The fact that the whole matter seems to have been hushed up leads one to believe that the North Koreans may have had a better case than we have been told. Under these circumstances one wonders whether the charge of "sham" may not be something about which opinions could differ. If so, the North Koreans may be the most-maligned people of modern history.

GEORGE OLSHAUSEN  
San Francisco, Cal., September 25

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## The Editors of The Nation:

In freshman communications classes here at Michigan State College we often have students report on magazines. One of my students, a married veteran, at this moment first came upon *The Nation*, never having read any serious magazine before. In a way he was all thumbs, for the magazine as well as the report were new experiences for him.

But in his conclusion he suddenly forgot his notes and said what *The Nation* seemed to him to be. I think you will agree that you have been complimented as highly as is possible. "It's not for violence," he said, "but strictly for freedom. They want to get at wrongdoing through truth. They don't say anything without telling you why they say it."

KENNETH MACRORE

Department of Written and Spoken English,  
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